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THEME, STRUCTURE AND IMAGERY IN THE OLD ENGLISH JUNIUS MANUSCRIPT

by

Ⓒ J.G. JOHANSEN

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled

THEME, STRUCTURE AND IMAGERY IN THE
OLD ENGLISH JUNIUS MANUSCRIPT

submitted by J. G. JOHANSEN

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of ARTS

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Abstract

In this thesis I intend to examine aspects of the poems in the Junius Manuscript which argue for their conceptual and poetic unity based on the theme that it is right to serve and praise God, and that such praise and service will be rewarded.

After a brief introduction to the history and composition of the manuscript in Chapter I, the thesis' second chapter will study ways in which the single theme is overtly expressed in all four poems. Chapter III will consider how the manuscript's overall poetic structure serves the didactic purpose of the poets/compiler(s), in expressing their theme. Finally I will examine selected strands of imagery prominent in the manuscript and demonstrate their role in expressing the prevailing theme.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. OVERT STATEMENTS OF THEME 8

III. THEME AND STRUCTURE 33

IV. THE IMAGERY OF HALL, TROOP, AND TREASURE . . 66

V. THE IMAGERY OF EXILE 98

VI. CONCLUSION 126

* * *

FOOTNOTES 130

BIBLIOGRAPHY 158

Chapter I: Introduction

The Junius Manuscript entered literary history in 1651 when it was presented as a gift by James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, to Francis Junius a Dutch scholar residing in England. The whereabouts and compilation of the manuscript prior to this date are unknown.[1] Junius published the manuscript in Amsterdam in 1655 and at that time attributed its contents to Cædmon on the basis of Bede's report in the Ecclesiastical History (IV, 24) of the kind of poetry Cædmon composed. Upon Junius' death in 1677, the manuscript was left to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where it remains. The manuscript consists of 116 parchment folios in 17 gatherings averaging 8 leaves each, though some have fewer because leaves have been lost. The pages are numbered from 1 to 229 in Junius' hand.[2]

Officially entitled Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, the manuscript contains four poems which have been called Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and Christ and Satan by modern editors; the poems have no titles in the manuscript. Their authors are unknown, as are the identites of the four scribes and the compiler(s). The first three poems are thought to have been written in the earlier part of the eighth century,[3] whereas Christ and Satan is generally regarded as having been composed some 100 - 150 years later.[4] Scholars generally believe that the three scribes responsible for writing down Christ and Satan were engaged in that task somewhat later than the scribe of the first three poems,[5] and date the final compilation of the manuscript to about the beginning of the eleventh century.[6] Insofar as these matters affect this thesis, they will be discussed in closer detail in Chapter 3.

Genesis, the first poem in the manuscript, draws its subject matter from the biblical Genesis up to Abraham's offering of Isaac at Chapter 22, verse 18; its 2,936 lines occupy the first 142 pages of the manuscript. Within Genesis another poem composed originally in Old Saxon and dealing with the Fall of the Angels and the Temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve has been interpolated. This work, called Genesis B or the Later Genesis to distinguish it from the poem in which it is embedded (Genesis A), occupies 618 lines (ll. 235 - 852) on pages 13 through 40 of the manuscript.[7] Its separateness and Old Saxon origin were postulated by Eduard Sievers in 1875 on the basis of differences compared with the surrounding work in its vocabulary, meter, and poetic style. In 1894 Karl Zangemeister discovered a portion of Old Saxon verse in the Vatican Library, 25 1/2 lines of which correspond almost exactly to lines 791 - 817 of Genesis. This discovery confirmed Sievers' hypothesis, and the entire episode has since come to be one of the classic anecdotes of Old English scholarship. How this portion of a ninth-century Old Saxon poem[8] found its way into the earlier Old English work is unknown but has been the subject of much speculation which need not occupy us here.[9]

The manuscript's second poem, *Exodus*, focuses on the departure of the Israelites from Egypt and their crossing of the Red Sea. It is a poem of 590 lines on pages 143 through 171 of the manuscript, and draws most of its material from Chapters 13 and 14 of the biblical source. Lines 362 - 446, however, consist of a backward glimpse at Noah and Abraham and are in turn interrupted by a glance forward to David and Solomon (ll. 389-96). The Old English poem *Daniel* draws from the first five chapters of the biblical book up to Belshazzar's Feast; it includes the Song of Azarias (ll. 280 - 332) and the Song of the Three Children (ll. 362 - 415) which have since been taken from this portion of the biblical Daniel and relegated to the Apocrypha. *Daniel* is on pages 173 through 212 of the manuscript and is 764 lines in length. *Christ and Satan* is slightly shorter (729 lines) and occupies the final 16 pages. It draws from Church legend as well as Scripture to present a chronologically disjointed account of the lamentations of the fallen angels, the Harrowing of Hell, Christ's Temptation and Doomsday.

The manuscript which contains these four poems is quite elaborate in comparison with the three other major

Old English poetic manuscripts, the Vercelli Book, the Exeter Book, and the Beowulf manuscript (London, British Museum, Cotton Vitellius A. xv). The first eighty-eight pages show regular illustrations by two separate artists of the accompanying text and in the remainder of the manuscript spaces left for illustrations remain blank.[10] The manuscript is further enhanced by decorative capitals, of zoomorphic design, which are present consistently up to page 73.[11] There are other such decorative capitals on pages 79, 143, and 226,[12] and spaces are left for them on pages 146, 148, and 149, suggesting that it was intended that the entire manuscript be adorned by such capitals. This sort of embellishment is, as we have said, unique among surviving Old English poetic manuscripts, and one would think it unlikely that so much effort should have been expended if the manuscript were not seen as something more than a chance collection of works whose only relationship is the fact that all have Scriptural and/or Apocryphal sources.

I shall argue that indeed a greater overall unity than this does exist. My reading of the poems suggests that, as with the plays of the later mystery cycles, the works assembled to form this manuscript were seen to be depicting selected engagements from the cosmic war that began with Lucifer's rebellion against God and was extended from Heaven and eternity into time and middangeard 'middle-earth' by Satan's successful Temptation of Adam and Eve.[13] The Old English poets, like John Milton, see this war, "supernal Grace contending/ With sinfulness of Men,"[14] as the fabric from which all events in history, including present history, are cut. The poets and compiler(s) of the Junius Manuscript are concerned to emphasize that it is of absolute importance to one's immediate, as well as eternal, well-being to be on the right side as this war is fought out on earth and in time. This then, is their single theme: those who are loyal to God and praise him, as is right, will prosper and be protected against their enemies; those whose allegiance is with Satan, on the other hand, will endure suffering and misery in this world and the next.

The second chapter of this thesis will show that throughout all four poems of the Junius Manuscript the audience is presented with statements of the theme which are so explicit that resorting to external sources in order to understand the meaning of the poems is quite unnecessary. These statements come, as we shall see, from various perspectives; some are voiced by the poet, some by his persona, the narrator, and others come from central characters whose points of view we can accept.

Chapter III deals with the overall structure of the Junius Manuscript. I shall attempt to demonstrate that the New Testament subject matter of Christ and Satan serves to explicate the spiritual significance of the various conflicts recounted in the first three Old Testament poems. It does this by providing archetypes of these conflicts as they have been undergone by God (Christ) and Lucifer (Satan). As God triumphs in his battles with his arch-enemy, so men who remain loyal to him are able to defeat their enemies, whose allegiance is with Satan. There is no middle-ground in these poems: men are either for God, or against him and with Satan. The structural movement in the first three poems and in Christ and Satan is from eternity into time. This movement draws the attention of the audience to their own situation, in time, leading them to see it as analogous to those of the biblical sources. The parallelism of movement makes the connection between the first three poems of the Junius Manuscript and the last, and explains the chronological ordering of the final work.

The last two chapters will show how the diction of heroic and exilic imagery is used by the poets to depict the situation of men in the world, and to draw even sharper the absolute distinction between those men who are loyal to God in the cosmic struggle and those who are not. Men who remain loyal to God are shown to be thanes receiving treasure and protection from their Lord. Exilic imagery and diction which ironically inverts all the positive things that heroic imagery associates with the hall and the comitatus are used to portray the fortunes of those who foolishly follow Satan. Indeed, Satan himself is presented in these terms. Furthermore, the Germanic concept of exile is fused with the Augustinian idea that Christians are only pilgrims in this world to show that God's loyal retainers on earth, though they prosper, have their real home in the hall of Heaven.

By examining the fabric of the poetry along these lines, and without pretending to be either exhaustive or definitive, the chapters which follow will show that there is reason for considering the Junius Manuscript poems as substantially more than an attempt "to discover an attractive way of telling stories from the scriptures," as a recent popular account of Old English literature calls them.[15] At the same time, it should become apparent that the value of Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and Christ and Satan as art does not rest upon their expression of external matters, such as the spirit of pagan Germania or the teachings of the Church Fathers, but upon the web of words which comprises them and makes them poetry.

Chapter II: Overt Statements of Theme

In St. Augustine's view the purpose of all serious literature is to express the New Law, the rule of charity. Examination and evaluation of all figurative works, therefore, has to seek the spiritual meaning which is consonant with this purpose. The discovery of such spiritual meaning hidden in the husk of the literal narrative is the source of aesthetic pleasure; the excellence of the work and the artist resides in how cleverly the spiritual fruit is concealed. In an influential book, Doctrine and Poetry, Bernard Huppé seeks to demonstrate the value of Old English poetry (and in particular, that of the so-called Cædmonian poems with which this thesis deals) by showing how it is composed in accordance with these principles of Christian poetics formulated by Augustine, most explicitly in De Doctrina Christiana.[1] Huppé justifies his approach by arguing that the Augustinian idea of poetry was "clear and definite" and "subscribed to by all Christians" in the Middle Ages. "Since the body of OE poetry is Christian,"[2] it is most reasonable to seek the meaning of Old English poems by applying the methods recommended by Augustine.[3]

In accordance with Augustine's principles, the Fathers of the Church detected spiritual meanings in the Old Testament sources of the poems in the Junius Manuscript.

In Huppé's view, these spiritual meanings are the key to understanding and appreciating the poems properly. Thus, only an awareness of the allegorical interpretations of the Fathers will enable us, for example, to perceive a unifying theme that accounts for the interpolation of Genesis B in Genesis A.[4] Huppé likewise believes that Exodus "must be understood . . . in the light of certain exegetical concepts developed by the Fathers,"[5] and that Daniel, like the two poems which precede it, has an "apparent reliance on biblical symbolism."[6] The problematic structure of Christ and Satan, he says, "like that of Genesis A, rests on an understanding of the underlying meaning of biblical narrative."[7]

I am not attempting to deny that the authors of Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and Christ and Satan were familiar with the writings of the Church Fathers and the theories of Augustine regarding the nature and purpose of poetry, or that a knowledge of the Patrologia and medieval hermeneutics might be useful to an audience of these poems. But to depend on such external materials for one's understanding of a poem's meaning may blind one to what is readily accessible on the work's literal level. A brief example from Huppé's reading of Genesis A should be sufficient to demonstrate the hazards of such dependence. The Genesis-poet refers to the raven which Noah releases to search for signs of land, as se feonde 'the fiend/the enemy'

(1447a).[8] Huppé refers to Bede and concludes that in Genesis A this epithet is intended to show that the raven is a symbol for "those who dwell in Babylon, the enemies of God, and those who refuse the way of Redemption, which leads to Jerusalem."[9] The epithet is, however, justified from the context of the passage in which it appears. Given the raven's traditional role as a beast of battle,[10] its attraction to floating corpses (1447) is entirely in keeping with its normally unsavoury character in Old English poetry. Because the Flood-waters have been described as a ravaging enemy (1381b - 88) of such great violence that Noah must be protected from it by God (1328 - 32a, 1389b - 91, 1407 - 10), the raven's presence, feasting on the victims of the Flood, is not unexpected or inappropriate. Since the raven is sweart 'black' (1441b, 1449b) and salwigfeðera 'sallow-feathered' (1448a), it is implicitly identified with the Flood-waters, sweart 'black' (1375a, 1414a) and won 'dark' (1379a, 1430a, 1462a), as an active enemy of Noah. Se feonde, therefore, is effective as an epithet (with obvious demonic associations) to describe the raven. The effectiveness of the description is enhanced since it is preceded by an account of Noah's feelings of constraint in the Ark and longing to get out (1431b - 35). In failing to return to Noah the raven in effect deserts him and is the more despicable on that account. Thus we see that it is unnecessary to resort solely to external sources in order to understand the poet's description of the raven as se feonde. By approaching the poem only through external commentaries on the biblical source, Huppé obscures the fact that a clear meaning is apparent on the literal level of the poem itself.[11]

In my view the best guides to the meaning of these poems occur overtly within the poems themselves. Comment by the poet-narrator on the narrative action, explicit addresses by the poet to his audience, and statements made by central characters in the poems all provide clear indications of the theme and intent of the poems. There can be no doubt that the poems are unabashedly didactic and homiletic, having been composed to teach moral and spiritual truths and to inculcate right action in their audience. To this end the poet often speaks to us (and any audience) directly as if he is one of our number, telling us that our period is like that of the poems, the same forces threaten us, the same source of solace is near, and the same choices are available. The biblical exempla provided in the poems make clear what these choices and their consequences are. In the event that we have not learned from the stories themselves, the poet as narrator often comments upon them in order to make their point clear. In addition, significant characters, whose point of view we can accept as valid because of their nature and situation, frequently voice these choices and state what consequences follow. Their comments are addressed directly to audiences within the poems but speak clearly, if indirectly, to the audience without.

Some of these overt statements of theme concern themselves only with those attitudes and actions proper to men, but most refer as well to the reward (or punishment) granted by God for such proper (or improper) behaviour. Those actions or attitudes seen in a positive light are also reinforced negatively: their absence, or the presence of their opposites, is lamented, as their presence, or the absence of their opposites, is celebrated. In the first case misfortune and punishment follow, both temporally and eternally; in the second prosperity, blessing and protection from enemies on earth and in Heaven are the result.

The first explicit statement of theme occurs in the very first lines of *Genesis* and therefore of the Junius Manuscript as a whole:

> Us is riht micel   ðæt we rodera weard,
> wereda wuldorcining,   wordum herigen,
> modum lufien!   (*Gen*. 1 - 3a)
>
> It is very right for us that we praise in words,
> laud in our thoughts, the guardian of the skies,
> glory-king of hosts!

Before anything else is said and prior to the presentation of any narrative, the poet addresses the audience directly to tell them it is *riht micel* 'very right' (1a) that they *herigen* 'praise' and *lufien* 'laud' God. The audience is included with the poet in the first person plural of the pronoun *us* 'us' (1a). In the passage itself no mention is made of punishment or reward, but in the narrative of the revolt and expulsion of the angels which follows (9b - 81) the fate of those who do what is right is contrasted with that of those like Lucifer who cease to do so.

In *Exodus* also praising God is commended to the Israelite host by an anonymous *hildecalla* 'herald' (252b):

> Eow is lar godes
> abroden of breostum. Ic on beteran ræd,
> þæt ge gewurðien wuldres aldor,
> and eow liffrean lissa bidde,
> sigora gesynto, þær ge siðien.
> (*Ex*. 268b - 72)

> The teaching of God is broken from your breast. I give you better counsel, that you honour the prince of glory, and ask the Lord of life for kindnesses, success in victories, wherever you travel.

The Israelites are advised in a time of adversity to change their disregard of God's teaching which has "broken" from their breasts and turn to praising and honouring him (270). When these lines are spoken the Israelites are at the nadir of their fortunes, caught between the sea and the advancing Egyptians. They are counselled to pray for God's kindness, and success in battle, with the understanding that such action will restore them to the right relationship with God and result in their requests being granted. The rest of the poem demonstrates how their praise is rewarded and their prayers are answered.

In *Daniel* the value of praising God is recognized by Nebuchadnezzar after he has witnessed the preservation of Annanias, Azarias and Misael:

"We gesawon
þæt he wið cwealme gebearh cnihtum on ofne,
lacende lig, þam þe his lof bæron;
forþam he is ana ece drihten,
dema ælmihtig, se ðe him dom forgeaf,
spowende sped, þam þe his spel berað."
(*Dan*. 473b - 78)

> "We saw that he protected the youths in the oven, the playing flame, against death, those [youths] who bore his praise; therefore he alone is eternal Lord, Almighty Judge, he who gave glory, thriving success, to those who bear his story."

Having condemned the youths to the fiery furnace (224 - 31) as punishment for remaining steadfast to their God and refusing to bow down to the golden idol he has erected (188 - 208), Nebuchadnezzar is amazed to see a fourth being in the furnace and the youths preserved from the flames and praising God in their midst. In these lines Nebuchadnezzar addresses his subjects in explanation of the miracle: the Three Youths were preserved because they praised their God (475b) and bore witness to him (477b) even in the midst of the fire. Their preservation proves to Nebuchadnezzar that their God is the only true and eternal God. The Three Youths are rewarded for their right action, just as the Israelites in *Exodus* are granted God's aid and protection against the Egyptians.

Nebuchadnezzar and his golden idol become a demonic inversion of the true God. Acting on behalf of the golden idol, Nebuchadnezzar demands praise and punishes those who refuse in a Hell-like furnace. But the preservation of the youths and the destruction of his own followers (250 - 51a, 265 - 67, 343 - 44) demonstrate the essential powerlessness of Nebuchadnezzar and his idol. His inability to protect those who praise and serve the golden idol (and by extension himself) markedly contrasts with the ana ece drihten 'one eternal Lord' (476b) who shields those who praise him and who destroys not them but their enemies.

In Exodus, the Israelites who praise God (547b, 576b) are delivered from the hands of the Egyptians. Azarias (Dan. 281b ff.) and the Three Youths in unison (357b ff.) praise God and as a result are rewarded by being delivered from the flames.[12] Angels who praise the Lord (Gen. 15b) enjoy the condition of primal bliss in Heaven before Lucifer's revolt, and in Christ and Satan the host of the blessed in Heaven is depicted praising God (221b, 659b). Both before and after human history, before the advent of sin and after its defeat, praising God is shown to be very right; to be, indeed, an inherent part of the eternal bliss of Heaven.

Explicit statements are also made commending loyalty and obedience to God. Daniel, for example, begins with an account of the prosperity of the Hebrews after their return from the Egyptian captivity,[13] followed by this comment from the narrator:

> Þenden þæt folc mid him   hiera fæder wære
> healdan woldon,   wæs him hyrde god,
> heofonrices weard,   halig drihten,
> wuldres waldend.   (*Dan*. 10 - 13a)

> As long as that people would hold [remain loyal to] their fathers' covenant with him, God, the Guardian of the Heavenly Kingdom, the Holy Lord, the Ruler of Glory, was a protector for them.

The *Genesis B*-poet's commentary on Adam and Eve is similar:

> Heo wæron leof gode
> ðenden heo his halige word   healdan woldon.
> (*Gen*. 244b - 245)

> They were beloved of God as long as they would hold [be true to] his holy word.

Both comments are voiced by the narrator to emphasize the significance of what has gone before: in the first case, as we have said, the well-being of the Hebrews (*Dan*. 1 - 9a); in the second, Adam's and Eve's piety (*Gen*. 237 - 38a), lack of sorrow (242b - 43), and obedience to God (243b - 44a). As long as they hold to the word of God, to the covenant, both groups are blessed; the Hebrews are protected by God, their *hyrde* 'guardian' (11b), and Adam and Eve are *leof gode* 'beloved of God' (244b). The use of the adverb *ðenden* 'as long as / while' (*Dan*. 10a; *Gen*. 245a) in both cases indicates to the audience that this blessedness is contingent upon the maintenance of loyalty to God's word. When such loyalty disappears the favourable situation of the Hebrews and Adam and Eve will change. The substance of *Daniel* and *Genesis B* is devoted to showing what the changed conditions are and how they come about.[14]

In Christ and Satan, the poet concludes a long homiletic commentary on a lament of Satan's (228 - 81) as follows:

Blæd bið æghwæm
þæm ðe hælende heran þenceð,
and wel is þam ðe þæt wyrcan mot.
(C&S 362b - 64)

[There] is prosperity for each who thinks
to obey the Healer, and [it] is well for
those who accomplish that.

Here obedience is specifically emphasized as behaviour which is rewarded by blæd 'prosperity'. Obedience is recommended, in the context, as a method whereby the audience may avoid Satan's fate. These lines are a particularly pure statement of what is right behaviour, reinforcing an earlier statement in the same poem by Satan himself:

Wat ic nu þa
þæt bið alles leas ecan dreamas
se ðe heofencyninge heran ne þenceð,
meotode cweman. (C&S 180b - 83a)

I know now that all are without eternal joys
who do not think to obey the King of Heaven,
[or to] please the Measurer.

Satan speaks these words on the basis of his own experience as one who did not obey or please God. Life in Hell has taught him what constitutes correct action. His audience at this point is the troop of angels which he led to rebel and is now suffering with him. He has no need to try to conceal anything from them as he did from Adam and Eve in Genesis B, since his troop knows only too well what sort of behaviour leads to the condition in which they find themselves. Given this context, Satan's words have a particular credibility for the poet's audience.

Other characters in the poems, characters on the opposite extreme of the moral spectrum from Satan, also express the importance of loyalty and obedience to God. God himself tells Noah that man was created in God's likeness and will have the glorious *magwlite* 'kin-appearance' of God and the angels if he *healdan wile halige þeawas* 'will maintain the holy customs' (*Gen*. 1531). When Nebuchadnezzar is called *earmsceapen* 'miserably shaped' (*Dan*. 631a)[15] and the fallen angels are called *forscepene* 'misshapen ones' (*C&S* 72a), it is clear they have failed to be obedient to the demands of the holy customs, and as a result have lost this likeness to God and the angels which the loyal possess. Moses, in his last speech in *Exodus*, tells the Israelites that God will *nu gelæstan þæt he lange gehet/ mid aðsware* 'now fulfill what he long promised/ with oath-swearing' (558 - 59a):

"gif ge gehealdað halige lare,
þæt ge feonda gehwone forð ofergangað,
gesittað sigerice be sæm tweonum,
beorselas beorna. Bið eower blæd micel!"
(*Ex*. 561 - 64)

"if you maintain the holy teachings, [so] that
you henceforth overcome each of your enemies,
establish a victory-kingdom between two seas,
[you establish] beer-halls of men. Your
prosperity will be great!"

Melchizedech explains to Abraham that his victory over the Northern armies is due to his loyalty to the holy covenant:

> "ne meahton siðwerod
> guðe spowan, ac hie god flymde,
> se ðe æt feohtan mid frumgarum
> wið ofermægnes egsan sceolde
> handum sinum, and halegu treow,
> seo þu wið rodora weard rihte healdest."
> (*Gen*. 2114b - 19)

> "the journey-troop [army, of the Northern kings] was not able to succeed in battle, but God put them to flight, he who at the fight shielded you by means of your front-spearmen from the terror of the great strength, with his hands and holy covenant, which you correctly hold with the Guardian of the Skies."

The Northern kings had gone too far when, in suppressing the revolt of the Sodomites, they also took Abraham's kinsman, Lot, as a captive. Lot, like Abraham, was *metode gecorene* 'chosen by the Measurer' (1734a) and *waldende leof* 'beloved by the Ruler [God]' (2598b). As punishment for this misdeed the much smaller force of Abraham, God's beloved,[16] is able to defeat them because, as Melchizedech says, Abraham *rihte healdest* 'correctly maintained' (2119b) the *halegu treow* 'holy covenant' (2118b) with God. Melchizedech's interpretation of events can be given credence because he speaks in his role as *leoda bisceop* 'bishop of the people' (2103a) and is invested with sufficient divine authority to give God's blessing to Abraham (2105b - 06a).

Obedience to the one loyal to God is made sufficient to gain God's blessing.[17] When God commands Abraham to leave Carran and seek the land which will be shown to him, he gives Abraham the following reassurance:

"Gif ðe ænig eorðbuendra
mid wean greteð, ic hine wergðo on
mine sette and modhete,
longsumne nið; lisse selle,
wilna wæstme þam þe wurðiað."
(*Gen*. 1754 - 58)

"If any earth-dwellers greet you with woe, I
will set my curse and the hatred of my mind
and long-lasting hostility on them, [but] to
those who obey you, [I] will grant good things,
the fruit of all that is desired."

The relationship between obedience to God and having his protection from enemies is made more explicit when God tells Abraham,

"Ic þæs folces beo
hyrde and healdend, gif ge hyrað me
breostgehygdum and bebodu willað
min fullian." (*Gen*. 2316b - 19a)

"I will be this peoples' guardian and keeper
if you obey me in your breast-thoughts and
will fulfill my commandments."

By alliterating *hyrde/hyrað*, the poet emphasizes this relationship between God and man: God's protection is contingent upon Abraham's obedience.[18]

The opposite of loyalty and obedience to God is refusal to obey and open rebellion against him, prompted by pride. Three direct addresses of the poet to the audience make this clear. The first reads:

Us gewritu secgað
þæt heo on sealtstanes sona wurde
anlicnesse. Æfre siððan
se monlica (þæt is mære spell)
stille wunode, þær hie strang begeat

wite, þæs heo wordum   wuldres þegna
hyran ne wolde. Nu sceal heard and steap
on þam wicum   wyrde bidan,
drihtnes domes,   hwonne dogora rim,
woruld gewite.   (*Gen*. 2565b - 74a)

> Writings tell us that she [Lot's wife] straightway came to be in the likeness of a salt-stone. Ever afterwards that man-likeness -- that is a great story -- remained unmoving, where she suffered a strong punishment because she would not obey the words of the thane of glory. Now [she] must, hard and steep in that place, await her fate, the judgment of the Lord, when the world, the count of days, departs.

Lot's wife is turned into a pillar of salt because she refuses to obey, and even *nu* 'now' (2571b), as books tell *us* 'us' (2565b), the pillar remains unchanged until she becomes subject to the final judgment of God on Doomsday. The eschatological implication and the contemporizing effect of *us*, *is*, *nu*, connects the time of the poem, that of Lot's wife or the past of the audience, with Judgment Day, yet to come for both the audience and Lot's wife. This connection encompasses all time in between, including that of the audience. The effect is to emphasize the necessity of behaving correctly in relationship to God so as to avoid his negative judgment when that Day comes. The consistent focus of the Junius poets on the eternal aspects of punishment and reward will be examined more closely below.

Another direct address of a poet to the audience follows a statement that God heard everything his angel (Lucifer) *ongan ofermede micel/ ahebban wið his hearran* 'began to raise up in great pride against his Lord' (293 -

94a). We are told that Satan had to pay for his act of rebellion (295b) and,

> Swa deð monna gehwilc
> þe wið his waldend winnan ongynneð
> mid mane wið þone mæran drihten.
> (*Gen*. 297b - 99a)

> So does each of men who [begin to] strive against his Ruler, with sins against the Great Lord.

Nebuchadnezzar's story in *Daniel* is similar. Even after he comes to believe in God because of the miracle shown him, he acts *No þy sel* 'not at all better' (488b), because his mind (that is, his opinion of himself), has grown greater than is *gemet* 'proper' (491b).[19] As Lucifer was cast down into Hell because of the sins to which pride prompted him, Nebuchadnezzar is *nyðor asette* 'set down' (492b) as punishment:

> . . . hine mid nyde nyðor asette
> metod ælmihtig, swa he manegum deð
> þara þe þurh oferhyd up astigeð.
> (*Dan*. 492 - 94)

> [God] set him down with hardship, [did]
> the Almighty Measurer, as he does to many
> of those who rise up through excessive pride.

The comments of the *Genesis*-poet on the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah also point to pride as the inspiration of the misdeeds of their inhabitants:

> Hie þæs wlenco onwod and wingedrync
> þæt hie firendæda to frece wurdon,
> synna þriste, soð ofergeaton,
> drihtnes domas, and hwa him dugeða forgeaf,
> blæd on burgum. (*Gen*. 2581 - 85a)

Pride and wine-drinking came upon them so that they

> became too enthusiastic in criminal deeds,
> bold in their sins, forgot the truth, the
> judgment of the Lord and who [it was that]
> gave them good things, prosperity in the city.[20]

Their punishment for neglecting *soð* 'the truth' (2583b), which is syntactically equivalent to *drihtnes domas* 'the judgments of the Lord' (2584a), immediately contrasts with God's treatment of Abraham:

> Forþon him brego engla
> wylmhatne lig to wræce sende.
> Waldend usser gemunde wærfæst þa
> Abraham arlice, swa he oft dyde
> leofne mannan. (*Gen*. 2585b - 89a)

> Therefore the Ruler of Angels sent them whelming
> hot flame as a punishment. Then Our Ruler, loyal
> to the covenant, remembered Abraham favourably,
> as he often did the beloved man.

Wlenco 'pride' (2581a) leads to disobedience of God which expresses itself in sins and criminal deeds and is followed by punishment. God loves those who are obedient to him and remembers them with approbation.[21]

This absolute contrast between the fortunes of the obedient and loyal on the one hand and those who disobey and rebel against God on the other is not confined to life in this world. The narrator's comment that no man *inwitfull* 'full of malice' or *womscyldig* 'guilty of sins' (*Gen*. 948 - 49a) may re-enter Paradise after the expulsion of Adam and Eve prefigures the final exclusion of the sinful from Heaven. Similarly, at the conclusion of *Exodus* the narrator delineates the two possible fates of men. For the disobedient there is Hell, a *manhus* 'house of punishment (536b)[22] *þær bið fyr and wyrm,/ open ece scræf.* 'where [there] is fire and the serpent, a pit open eternally.' (537b - 38a). The *soðfæstra sawla* 'steadfast souls' (544) on the other hand are led to Heaven *þær is leoht and lif, eac þon lissa blæd;/ . . . to widan feore* 'where [there] is light and life, also the fruits of what is desired . . . forever' (546, 548b). In *Daniel*, the poet mentions (in an aside bracketed by the editor, Krapp) what the Babylonians can expect as a reward for worshipping Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol:

Fremde folcmægen, swa hyra frea ærest,
unræd efnde, (him þæs æfter becwom
yfel endelean), unriht dyde.
(*Dan*. 185 - 87)

The troop of people, as [did] their lord first,
carried out [performed] ill-counsel (to them
afterwards came an evil end-reward for this),
did unright.

Endelean suggests the 'Final Reward' they will be given after all things are over on Judgment Day.[23]

Finally, the *Christ and Satan*-poet presents a fully-realized vision of the Last Judgment. His vision is included in one of the homiletic passages which Neil Isaacs describes as "explicit preachment."[24] It encompasses and expands all the preceding partial eschatological passages:

Wile þonne gesceadan wlitige and unclæne
on twa healfe, tile and yfle.
Him þa soðfæstan on þa swiðran hond
mid rodera weard reste gestigað.
Þonne beoð bliðe þa in burh moton
gongan in godes rice,
and heo gesenað mid his swiðran hond

cynincg alwihta, cleopað ofer ealle:
"Ge sind wilcuman! Gað in wuldres leoht
to heofona rice, þær ge habbað
a to aldre ece reste."
Þonne stondað þa forworhtan, þa ðe firnedon;
beoð beofigende hwonne him bearn godes
deman wille þurh his dæda sped.
Wenað þæt heo moten to þære mæran byrig
up to englum swa oðre dydon,
ac him bið reordende
ece drihten, ofer ealle gecwæð:
"Astigað nu, awyrgde, in þæt witehus
ofostum miclum. Nu ic eow ne con."
(*C&S* 608 - 27)

> [God] will then divide the shining and the unclean, the good and evil, on two sides. The steadfast ones will climb to rest with him on the right hand, with the Guardian of the Skies. Then, when [they] are able to go into God's kingdom, [they] are joyful, and the King of All-Things blesses them with his right hand, speaks [out] over all:
>
> "You are welcome! Go in the light of glory to the kingdom of Heaven where you have for all time eternal rest."
>
> Then those who have worked themselves astray [sinners] those who have committed crimes stand, are trembling, when the Son of God will judge them by his wondrous might. They expect that they may go to that great city, up to the angels as the others did, but to them the Eternal Lord is speaking, addresses all:
>
> "Arise now, accursed, into that house of punishment, with great haste. I do not know you now."

An account of the miseries of Hell follows and is followed in turn by an exhortation to the audience: *Uton, la, geþencan geond þas worulde,/ þæt we hælende heran onginnen!* 'Let us, lo, think [so] that throughout the world we begin to obey the Healer!' (*C&S* 642 - 43).[25] The placement of the exhortation at this point is clearly meant to stress the relationship between being obedient to God and sharing the blessed fate of the *wlitige* 'shining' and *tile* 'good', and the *soðfæstan* 'steadfast', lit. 'secure in truth.'

The centrality of obedience to God's command as a guide to the meaning of these poems emerges from the poets' characterizing the behaviour of persons in the poems consistently according to whether or not it conforms to God's will. The angels who *ær godes hyldo gelæston* 'previously fulfilled God's trust' (*Gen*. 321b) retain the heights of Heaven (320b - 21a) after the rebellious angels are cast out. Before the Fall Adam and Eve *godes willan/ lengest læst[o]n* 'longest carried out God's will' (*Gen*. 243b - 44a), and after the Fall a repentant Adam and Eve act *be godes hæse* 'according to God's command' (965b), *swa him metod bebead* 'as the Measurer bid them' (966b). Noah, too, acts *be godes hæse* (1370b, cf. 1781b), *swa him ælmihtig/ weroda drihten þurh his word abead* 'as the Almighty Lord of Hosts commanded him' (1361b - 62, cf. 1314a, 1356b). In *Genesis* 1493, with reference to God's instruction that he leave the Ark, it is said of Noah that *he fremede swa and frean hyrde* 'he did so and obeyed the Lord'. Noah is *lare gemyndig* 'mindful of [God's] teaching' (1780a) and therefore obeys God. As Noah before him is mindful of his duty to God, Abraham is *wære gemyndig* 'mindful of the covenant' (2374b) between God and himself and therefore when God directs him to obey his commands (*Gen*. 1748b, 2306b - 07a, 2325b) Abraham acts in a loyal and obedient fashion. He leaves Carran in search of Canaan *be frean hæse* 'according to the Lord's command' (1781b) and circumcises his household *swa him se eca bebead* 'as the eternal one commanded him' (2370b, cf. 2769b) and *be frean hæse* (2371b). In a final act of obedience Abraham leads Isaac, his beloved and long-wished-for son, to the sacrifice in accordance with the *haliges hæsum* 'commands of the holy one' (*Ex*. 385a).[26] He *hyrde* 'obeyed' his Lord in sending Ishmael away (*Gen*. 2804) and in taking Isaac to Zion to be offered up to God (*Ex*. 410); because Abraham obeys God he lives in prosperity (*Gen*. 1945 - 59). Before the impending destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah Abraham's kinsman, Lot, is directed to *teng recene to/ þam fæstenne* 'hasten quickly to that fastness [Zoar]' (*Gen*. 2529b - 30a). In response to this direction Lot *onette* 'hurried' (2535a) and *ofstum forð/ lastas legde* 'rapidly laid tracks thenceforth' (2537b - 38a). The Israelites, fleeing from Egypt, *nalles hige gehyrdon haliges lare* 'nevertheless obeyed the teaching of the holy one with their thought' (*Ex*. 307). The Three Youths, *metode gecorene* 'chosen by the Measurer' (*Dan*. 92b),[27] *hogedon georne/ þæt æ godes ealle gelæste* 'thought eagerly that [they would] carry out all the law of God' (*Dan*. 218b - 19). For this loyalty God protects them from death in the fiery furnace. In *Christ and Satan*, Christ's disciples *þider/ ealle urnon* 'all hastened there [Galilee]' (529b - 30a) when the risen Christ *het* 'commanded' (521a)[28] them.

The central importance of loyal obedience to God in the Junius Manuscript poems is further emphasized by the way in which the disobedience of men on earth is portrayed as earthly re-enactments of the primal disloyalty and disobedience of Lucifer in eternity (Gen. 264b, 309 - 10, 328 - 29, 352 - 53; C&S 315 - 16).[29] It was Lucifer's excessive self-pride which led him to disobey God, and to express his disobedience in active rebellion. His hubris is expressed most clearly in his statement that Ic mæg wesan god swa he 'I may be God as he [is]' (Gen. 283b).[30] Belshazzar's disobedience to God is of the same kind. While drunk, and after desecrating the sacred vessels from God's temple, he rashly boasts that his might is of greater magnitude and of more aid to men than that of God (Dan. 712 - 16). Like Lucifer, and like his ancestor Nebuchadnezzar, he fails to recognize his power and glory as gifts granted him by God. Nebuchadnezzar himself erects a golden idol to be worshipped in place of the God of Israel (Dan. 170 - 77). This act is described as being carried out ofer metodes est 'against the command of the Measurer' (Dan. 174b). The same epithet is applied to the disobedience of the sons of Seth in intermarrying with the daughters of Cain (Gen. 1251a).[31] Hubris is seen particularly clearly as the motivation of the builders of Babel and Nebuchadnezzar in their acts of disloyalty to God. The people of Shinar's act in building the tower which they intend to reach *to heofnum up* 'up to heaven' (*Gen*. 1675a) is described as being *ofer monna gemet* 'beyond what is proper for men' (*Gen*. 1677a). Likewise, Nebuchadnezzar's mind, despite the miracle of the Three Youths, grows *mara . . . þonne gemet wære* 'greater . . . than was proper' (*Dan*. 491) and he fails to accept the Lord of Israel as his own. The Egyptian pharaoh in *Exodus* is disloyal because the Egyptians *wære ne gymdon* 'did not keep the covenant' (140b, cf. 147b). The sin of Ham, son of Noah, in looking upon his naked father is said to be a failure to demonstrate *hyldo and treowa* 'loyalty and faith' (*Gen*. 1592a) when there was need; like Pharaoh's, his is a sin of disloyalty.

Curses are meted out throughout the Junius Manuscript poems to disobedient individuals. These include Adam, Eve, and the serpent (*Gen*. 903 - 38), Cain (*Gen*. 1013b - 21), Ham (*Gen*. 1593b - 97), those who disobey God's favourite, Abraham (*Gen*. 1755 - 56), and even, in a sense, Lot's disobedient wife as she is transformed into a pillar of salt (*Gen*. 2566 - 67a). The two dreams of Nebuchadnezzar (*Dan*. 113 - 15, 495 - 522) and the *baswe bocstafas* 'crimson letters' (*Dan*. 723a) which are inscribed by an angel's hand on the wall of Belshazzar's palace (*Dan*. 717 - 40) are also curses on those two individuals for their acts of disobedience towards God. The final punitive curse recorded in the Junius Manuscript is bestowed on

Satan after his abortive temptation of Christ (*C&S* 698 - 709). Christ's curse on Satan concludes the series of curses applied to those who are disobedient to God, and aptly so since the first such act of disloyalty was Lucifer's.

Those characters who praise and obey God prosper and thrive within the narrative of the poems, but the poets also take pains to identify God's favour explicitly with these characters. This is done by identifying them as *leofe* 'loved' and *dyre* 'dear' to God. Abraham, as we have already seen, Lot (*Gen*. 2598a), and Noah (*Gen*. 1285a, 1386, 1586b) are all loved by God. Shem and Japheth, Noah's loyal sons who cover their father's nakedness without gazing upon him, are called *leofum men* 'beloved men' (*Gen*. 1586b). Moses (*Ex*. 12a) and the Israelites (*Ex*. 53b, 279a, 337a) are termed beloved and dear to God, as are the Three Youths in the midst of Nebuchadnezzar's furnace (*Dan*. 248a).

God's love is lost by those characters who abandon their loyalty to him. God's angels, prior to their revolt, are loved by God (*C&S* 155) and dear to him (*Gen*. 26b, 340a; *C&S* 82a), as are the people of Shinar before they begin to build the Tower of Babel (*Gen*. 1656b). The descendents of Seth are dear to God (*Gen*. 1247a) and beloved to him (*Gen*. 1246) until they disobey his commands and intermarry with the daughters of Cain. Thereafter they become *unleofe* 'unloved' (*Gen*. 1268b) and *laðe* 'loathsome' (*Gen*. 1269b).

The Hebrews are described in *Daniel* as dearest to God (*Dan*. 36b, 37a) and beloved (*Dan*. 37b) until they give up *drihtnes domas* 'the judgments of the Lord' (*Dan*. 32a) in favour of *deofles cræft* 'the skills of the devil' (*Dan*. 32b). After they have been consigned to Hell, the rebellious angels are described as *lað[an]* 'loathsome' (*Gen*. 489b, 496a, 592b, 647b, 711a; *C&S* 714a) and *godes andsacan* 'God's enemies' (*Gen*. 320a, 442b; *C&S* 190a, 268b, 279b, 339b, 717b).[32] In contrast with their Israelite captives but like Satan and his cohorts, the Egyptians are *lað[an]* (*Ex*. 57b, 138a, 195a, 462a) and *godes andsacan* (*Ex*. 15a, 503b). The people of Sodom and Gomorrah are *gode unleofe* 'unloved by God' (*Gen*. 2454b) and *metode laðe* 'loathsome to the Measurer' (*Gen*. 1934b) because they refuse to recognize and be loyal to him. Nebuchadnezzar's thanes are loyal to a demonic lord and in obedience to his orders seek to injure God's beloved. Accordingly they are designated as *laðe* 'loathsome' (*Dan*. 250b) and subject to God's *hete* 'hatred' (*Dan*. 619b). These explicit descriptions of characters as loved or unloved by God constitute overt statements of theme, since it is only those who are loyal to God and obey him that are called his beloved.

From the foregoing we are able to draw a number of conclusions. First, a single theme emerges with great clarity: it is right to praise and serve God loyally. Those who do what is right are beloved of God and receive his protection, and are given joy and prosperity here and hereafter; those who do not are subject to God's hatred and must suffer misery and travail in both time and (especially) eternity.[32] Secondly, we can see readily that there is no need to have any recourse to outside writings in order to comprehend the meaning of these works. Finally, since we have been able to draw our textual evidence for this single theme from all four poems indiscriminately (from all *five* poems, if we consider *Genesis B* a separate work), it is plain that the same theme is shared by the entire manuscript.

In the chapters to follow I shall attempt to show how the organization and structure of the manuscript, as well as the use of imagery based on central concepts in Anglo-Saxon society, support and serve to express this single theme.

Chapter III: Theme and Structure

The poets responsible for Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and Christ and Satan explicitly identify those who loyally serve and praise God as being loved by him, whereas they describe those who rebel and refuse proper service as hateful and loathsome to God. This bifurcation in the relationship between man and his creator[1] is seen as a radical one, having its origins outside time, in eternity, with the rebellion of Lucifer against God, his lord and maker. Beginning with the Fall and the story of Cain and Abel, this rebellion of Lucifer enters human history and becomes its governing principle. The war mentioned in Chapter I is the earthly and temporal expression of this "cosmic conflict between good and evil for the soul of man."[2] The Junius Manuscript gives us an account of the original conflict, of how it entered history, and of how it expresses itself therein. It goes on to show how it will be concluded, and how, in the full cosmic scheme of things, good will finally triumph over evil. Soji Iwasaki, writing on the medieval theatre, has this to say:

> The old cosmic drama which had once taken place between Heaven and Hell . . . [gave] a basic framework to the mystery plays and the early morality plays.[3]

This "basic framework" is likewise that of the Junius

Manuscript.

Before going into a discussion of the structure of the Junius Manuscript, it is necessary to establish what are the pertinent textual divisions. The generally accepted division into Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and Christ and Satan which is present in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, for example, and which is the basis for the individual editions of these poems,[4] stems originally from C.W.M. Grein's 1857 edition of the Junius Manuscript. They are modern divisions for which there is no explicit justification in the manuscript. This being the case it is perhaps dangerous to accept them too blindly, particularly since, as I believe there is another, more textually compelling way of dividing the manuscript which provides a better guide to the thematic structure of the codex as a whole.

There are factors which indicate the presence of four different poems in the Junius Manuscript. Each of the "poems" opens with introductory formulas and motifs, such as hortatory addresses to the audience and statements of the might and power of God in terms of what he has done for man. Each "poem" is in a style which is discernibly distinct from the others, so that it is clear they are not the work of the same author or even of authors contemporary with each other. Each also begins a new manuscript page.[5] Nevertheless nothing in the codex indicates that we are meant to consider them four separate and distinct works.

The only structural division (apart from fitts) comes between Daniel and Christ and Satan. Even this does not take any explicit form, but with page 213 of the manuscript, that on which Christ and Satan begins, a new scribal hand takes over.[6] The last scribe closes his work, the conclusion of Christ and Satan, with the words Finit Liber II. Amen, indicating that at least in his mind, there was a Liber I. There are many reasons for considering that the first three poems belong together in such a Liber I. All are written in the same hand and have either illustrations or (after page 96 where the last and incomplete drawing appears) spaces left for them in the manuscript. The fitt divisions are numbered consecutively (1 to 55) from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Daniel. Also, each page of the first 212 is ruled for 26 lines, as compared with 27 lines for the last 17. In the final 17 pages there are three distinct scribal hands, none the same as that in the first 212. There are no illustrations or spaces left for illustrations in the portion of the manuscript which contains Christ and Satan, and the fitt numbering begins anew, going from 1 to 12.

There are no explicit indications in the manuscript to suggest that we are meant to distinguish the poems from each other. The large decorative "H" at the top of page 143 which is held to be the beginning of Exodus as well as the capital "G" which is said to begin Daniel on page 173 are not distinct from other capitals, decorative or otherwise, throughout the first 212 pages of the manuscript.[7] Taking this into consideration, along with the differences we have noted between the last 17 and the first 212 pages of the manuscript, it is not unreasonable to consider the latter as an entity, comprising Liber I,[8] whereas the last 17 pages, containing Christ and Satan, are the scribe's Liber II. The latest editor of Christ and Satan, Merrel D. Clubb, is of the opinion that Liber II was added after, though "less than a generation" after, the compilation of Liber I.[9] At the same time, based on the fact that "there are traces in Genesis of the hand of the Late West Saxon Corrector who was so active in Christ and Satan," Clubb feels that Liber I and Liber II were treated together, as one book, in the eleventh century.[10]

We can imagine, then, a manuscript existing which contained only what we now know as Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel. Some time later, the material we now call Christ and Satan was added to the already existing manuscript. It becomes a significant structural question then to ask why the addition was made. Is it likely that a work seen as quite irrelevant would have been added to a codex which is relatively elaborate in its conception, with its illustrations and decorative capitals? It is more reasonable to suppose that Liber II (our Christ and Satan) was seen as contributing to the conceptual unity of the whole in some fashion.

Liber I begins with the conflict between God and the rebellious angels and continues with a series of other conflicts featuring such antagonisms as Satan versus Adam and Eve, Cain versus Abel, Noah versus the fallen sons of Seth and then the Flood, Abraham versus the pharaoh, the Elamites, and Abimelech (all in Genesis); the Israelites versus the Egyptians (in Exodus) and the loyal Israelites versus the Chaldeans (in Daniel). These struggles move from eternity, with the Casting Out of the Rebellious Angels, through the Fall (which marks a transition from eternity to time) to Cain and Abel and all that follows and which takes place in time.

Liber II, whether it is one poem (Christ and Satan) as the present-day consensus has it, or a series of fragments, as early editors such as Coneybeare (1826) and Thorpe (1830) believed, can best be seen as a series of three physical confrontations between Christ and Satan. These confrontations constitute a movement from eternity into time with a glance forward to Judgment Day and the return, as it were, of time into eternity.[11] These three struggles all result in the defeat of Satan by Christ and serve therefore to illustrate his incommensurate might. The movement from eternity into time, like that in Liber I, suggests to the audience that Christ's power is as mighty here and now, in time, as it is outside time, in the eternal present of Heaven and Hell.

What, then, is the relationship between Liber I and Liber II? A credible way of approaching this question is to bear in mind the words of St. Augustine regarding the relationship between the Old and New Testaments:

> . . . what is the "Old Testament" but a concealed form of the new? And what is the "New Testament" but the revelation of the old?[12]

In a similar fashion, Liber II recapitulates, reinforces, and reveals the meaning of the central action in Liber I. It sums up Liber I by disclosing the one who will finally overcome and judge Satan and his machinations and who will liberate and glorify those who have been loyal and obedient to God. Long sections of homily and preaching directed towards the audience "stress the implications of this revelation for the conduct, in broad terms, of man's life."[13]

The first struggle in Liber II (ll. 1 - 364) is Christ's expulsion of the rebellious Lucifer from Heaven. It is Christ of the New Testament, not the Father of the Old as in Liber I, who is responsible for this. This is made clear in lines 67b - 68a: Crist heo afirde,/ dreamum bedelde 'Christ expelled them,/ deprived them of joys'. Even without this explicit statement we are made to understand that Satan's rebellion is directed specifically against the Son. Satan's own words make this clear:

> ". . . ic wolde towerpan   wuldres leoman,
> bearn helendes,   agan me burga gewald
> eall to æhte."   (*C&S* 85 - 87a)
>
> . . . .
>
> ". . . ic wolde of selde   sunu meotodes,
> drihten adrifan,   and agan me þæs dreames
> gewald,
> wuldres and wynne."   (*C&S* 172 - 74a)

> "I wished to overthrow the radiance of glory,
> the Son of the Healer, own for myself all
> power over the city [of God] as a possession."
>
> . . . .
>
> "I wished to drive the Lord, the Son of the
> Measurer, from the hall, and own for myself the
> power over joy, over glory and pleasure."

The narrator reinforces Satan's words with his own comment:

> hie woldon benæman   nergendne Crist
> rodera rices,   ah he on riht geheold
> hired heofona   and þæt halige seld.
> (*C&S* 345 - 47)

> They wished to deprive the saving Christ of the
> kingdom of the heavens, but he by right retained
> the troop of the skies and that holy hall.

The troop of fallen angels, in their malediction against their former leader, reveal that Lucifer went so far in order to lead them astray as to claim Christ, *meotod moncynnes* 'the measurer of mankind,' (63 - 64a) as his own son.

Satan's rebellion and hubristic claim that he is Christ's father are an offense against *godes agen bearn* 'God's own son' (10b), who in the Creation passage which begins the poem (as in the seventh book of *Paradise Lost*) is disclosed as the creator of the world. The disobedience of the rebellious angels, prompted by *oferhygd* 'pride'

(*C&S* 50a, 69a, 113a, 196a, 226a, 369a),[14] results in the loss of all the good things of Heaven which previously were theirs:

> ". . . we for dryhtene iu   dreamas hefdon,
> song on swegle   selrum tidum." (*C&S* 44 - 45)
>
> . . . .
>
> "Ic wæs iu in heofnum   halig ængel,
> dryhtene deore;   hefde me dream mid gode,
> micelne for meotode,   and ðeos menego swa some."
> (*C&S* 81 - 83)
>
> . . . .
>
> ". . . we iu in heofonum   hæfdon ærror
> wlite and weorðmynt."   (*C&S* 150 - 151a)
>
> ". . . we, before the Lord, previously had joys,
> song in the sky, in better times."
>
> . . . .
>
> "I was previously in heaven a holy angel, dear
> to the Lord: had for myself joy with God, great
> [joy] before the Measurer, and this multitude
> likewise."
>
> . . . .
>
> ". . . we previously in heaven had brightness and
> repute before [this]."

He who had *miht* 'might' (2b, 6b, 8a, 13b) and *strengðo* 'strength' (2b) to establish the earth was more than a match for a rebellious thane.

The casting out of Satan, recounted through the laments of Satan and his followers as well as the narrator's summary in the first part of *Christ and Satan*, is the fourth appearance of this apocryphal story in the Junius Manuscript. The first two appearances which occur one after the other to begin Liber I (*Gen*. 22 - 46; 47 - 91) are introduced with an account (*Gen*. 8b - 21) of the primal bliss in "a golden heaven of light, . . . a heaven of unity, peace and order presided over by a benevolent, yet demanding God."[15] Before the rebellion led by Lucifer, the troops of angels have *gleam and dream,/ . . . beorhte blisse. Wæs heora blæd micel!* 'joy and gladness/ . . . bright bliss. Their well-being was great!' (12b, 14). They are *swiðe gesælige* 'greatly blessed' (18a) and know nothing of sins (18b). They live in *friðe* 'peace' (19b) and raise nothing aloft but *riht and sop* 'right and truth' (21b). Some of the angels, however, are overtaken sufficiently by pride (*oferhygd*, 22b, 29a, 66a; *bælc*, 54a) to begin to lift up boasts (*gielp*, 25b, 69b; *beot*, 70a). They boast that they *wið drihtne dælan meahton/ wuldorfæstan wic* 'with the Lord might divide the dwelling-place fast in glory' (26 - 27a) and that *heo rice, . . . agan woldan, and swa eaðe meahtan* 'they would own the kingdom and easily might do so' (47a, 48). Their proud expectation is laid low (*Him seo wen geleah*, 49a) and their boast is destroyed (*forod*, 69b; *forborsten*, 70a). Against the might and righteous anger of God, their boasts turn out to be empty, an *idel gylp* as it is put in *Christ and Satan*, 252b.[16] As punishment God gives Lucifer and those who joined him a *wræclicne ham* 'wretched home' (37a):

> deop, dreama leas, . . .
> synnihte beseald,   susle geinnod,
> geondfolen fyre   and færcyle,
> rece and reade lege.   Heht pa geond pæt
> rædlease hof
> weaxan witebrogan   (40a - 45a)

> deep, without joys, . . .
> surrounded with eternal night, filled on the
> inside with torments, filled throughout with
> fire and extreme cold, smoke and red flame.
> [God] commanded then that punishment-terrors
> grow throughout that house, without hope.

This is the place in which we meet them, lamenting their fate, in *Christ and Satan*.

The third account of the Fall of the Angels begins *Genesis B* (ll. 246 - 337) and precedes Satan/Lucifer's plotting to avenge himself on God by making God's new creatures, Adam and Eve, join him in sin. This account focuses on the personal offense and the psychology of Lucifer in refusing to fulfill the duties for which he was created and made glorious. The *alwalda* 'Ruler of All Things' (246a) had created the orders of angels so that *hie his giongorscipe fyligan wolden,/ wyrcean his willan* 'they would fill the role of servanthood to him/ work his will' (249 - 50a). For this reason they were given *gewit* 'intelligence' (250b) and shaped by God's hand (251a). Lucifer had been *swiðne geworhtne* 'created the greater' (252b), the highest in Heaven next to God himself (254a). The proper response of Lucifer should have been to work *lof* 'praise' (256b) to his Lord and to thank him (257b); instead, Lucifer turned to worse things (259a). Pride[17] in the beautiful shape God had given him -- *his lic wære leoht and scene,/ hwit and hiowbeorht* 'his body was light and shining, white and bright of hue' (265 - 66a) -- and infatuation with all the power God had given him -- *let hine swa micles wealdan* 'let him rule so much' (253b) -- leads Lucifer to refuse to serve God: *Ne wille ic leng his geongra wurþan* 'I will not long remain his servant' (291b, cf. 249). Pride, indeed, leads him here as in Liber II, beyond disobedience into hubris: *Ic mæg wesan god swa he* 'I may be God just as he [is]' (283b). When God hears all this he casts Lucifer from the *hean stole* 'high seat' (300b), *ufon of heofnum* 'down out of Heaven' (306b) *helle tomiddes* 'into the midst of Hell' (324b) *under eorðan neoðan* 'beneath the earth' (311a). Like the Hell of *Genesis A* and *Christ and Satan*, this one contains *brand and brade ligas* 'fire and broad flames' (325a), *hatne heaðowelm* 'hot whelmings of heat' (324a), *fyres fær micel* 'much great fire' (334a) at the same time as it is *leohtes leas* 'without light' (333a) and filled with *þrosm and þystro* 'smoke and darkness' (326a). Here, as we see in Liber II at greater length, Satan and his rebellious followers are forced to endure *wite micel* 'much punishment' (329b, cf. 323b).

In all three accounts of the Rebellion and Casting Out of the Angels, pride leads to disobedience and rebellion, which are punished by loss of the joys of Heaven and by the torments of Hell. All three accounts represent the event taking place outside time, in eternity. The Old English poets here go beyond the material of the Old Testament and make use of apocryphal/ecclesiastical legend in order to posit an event in eternity, preceding time, that to a large degree replaces the Fall of Adam and Eve as the archetype of all sin within time. The Genesis B account leads into the seduction of Adam and Eve. The juxtaposition of events makes clear that the Fall of Man is engineered by a malicious Satan in order to avenge himself on the God who cast him from Heaven and to injure those whom God created to replace him. In the account of the Fall presented in Genesis B Adam and Eve appear as well-intentioned, but tricked, objects of the "cosmic conflict."

Other events in the history of human time are also presented in the Junius Manuscript as earthly reflections of Lucifer's extratemporal fall. The descendants of Shem, for example, come to the field of Shinar as leofum mannum 'beloved men' (Gen. 1656b), rofe rincas 'brave warriors' (1651a) and the æðelinga bearn 'sons of princes' (1654a). They settle the sidne and widne 'spacious' (1655b) grene wongas,/ fægre foldan 'green meadows,/ fair earth' (1657b - 58a) of Shinar and

him forðwearde
on ðære dægtide duguðe wæron,
wilna gehwilces weaxende sped.
(1658b - 60)

> [there] were good things for them thenceforth in that time of days, growing prosperity in each of their desires.

But here, as in Heaven, wlence . . . wonhygdum 'pride and rashness' (1673) lead them astray. Eager for mærð 'greatness' (1663a, 1677b) they begin to construct an objective correlative of their prideful state, a stone tower up to Heaven:

to beacne torr
up arærde to rodortunglum
. . . .
to heofnum up hlædræ rærdon
. . . .
þæt beacen . . .
to roderum up ræran ongunnon.
(1666b - 81)

as beacon [they] raised up a tower to the stars of the sky
. . . .
raised up a ladder to heaven
. . . .
began to raise up that beacon to the skies

In like manner, and for similar motives, the angels in Heaven *ahebban* 'raise' themselves up in struggle against the Lord (259b, 263a, 294a). By building their tower, the formerly beloved inhabitants of Shinar act *ofer monna gemet* 'beyond what is proper for men' (1677a). They are punished by having their speech confounded (1684 - 86, 1695b - 96) and by being scattered *on feower wegas* 'to the four points of the compass' (1697b), *ungepeode* 'without nationality/ unpeopled' (1698b). Their tower stands *samworht* 'half-built' (1701a) behind them. As with the angels in Heaven, the people of Shinar disrupt a condition of peaceful bliss and prosperity because of pride, and in consequence suffer the punishment of God which, in earthly terms, is disunity and the loss of their identity as God's beloved.

In *Daniel*, the falls of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar are also modelled after the archetypal fall of the angels. As we saw in the preceding chapter, the *Daniel*-poet establishes Nebuchadnezzar as a demonic parody of God. Although the king is given the miracle of the Three Youths who are saved from the furnace, and even learns from it temporarily (*Dan*. 472 - 85), he remains incorrigible. The pride which led him to set up the golden idol for his people to worship remains, as the poet puts it, injurious to him: *þam æðelinge oferhygd gesceod* 'pride injured that prince' (489). We learn that despite the miracle, Nebuchadnezzar

> No þy sel dyde,
> . . . .
> wearð him hyrra hyge and on heortan geðanc
> mara on modsefan þonne gemet wære.
> (488b - 91)
>
> Did not [act] better
> . . . .
> higher [i.e. more inflated] thoughts came
> to pass in him and the thoughts of his heart
> [grew] greater in his mind than was proper.

He becomes *swiðmod in sefan* 'arrogant in his mind' (605a):

> for ðære sundorgife
> þe him god sealde, gumena rice,
> world to gewealde in wera life
> (605b - 07)
>
> because of that special gift, which God had
> granted him: the kingdom of men, the world
> into his power during the lifetime of men.

Looking out over his city, which ominously enough (if one has heard the story of the Tower of Babel in *Genesis*) is located on *Sennara feld* 'the field of Shinar' (601a), he utters his *gylp micel* 'great boast' (598b):

> "Đu eart seo micle   and min seo mære burh
> þe ic geworhte   to wurðmyndum,
> rume rice.   Ic reste on þe,
> eard and eðel,   agan wille."
> (608 - 11)

> "You are the great and mighty city, the spacious kingdom, which I worked for my renown. I will have my rest [security] in you, nation and homeland."

He gives himself credit (609) for that which *him god sealde* 'God gave him' (606a) and because of his great pride he is *nyðor asette* 'set down' (492b) by God. Nebuchadnezzar *on fleam gewat* 'departed in flight' (613b). He suffers *godes wite* "God's punishment' (616b), the *nið godes* 'hostility of God' (618b): *Seofon winter samod   susl þrowode,/ wilddeora westen* 'Seven winters together [he] endured torment,/ the wasteland of wild beasts' (620 - 21a). His mind is reduced to that of a *wilddeora gewita* 'wild beast' (623a). Not until he recognizes that God alone is the true king of both Heaven and men on earth (624 - 26a, 629 - 30) is he allowed to return and re-assume his throne.

His descendant, Belshazzar, inherits the *hea rice* 'high kingdom' (670b), the *widan byrig,/ ealhstede eorla* 'wide city,/ temple-place of earls' (672b - 73a) where *ead bryttedon,/ welan, wunden gold* 'blessedness [is] distributed,/ [along with] wealth, wound gold' (671b - 72a). As it did his ancestor, pride injures Belshazzar: *him wlenco gesceod,/ oferhyd egle* 'pride injured him,/ hateful arrogance' (677b - 78a). Seated *medugal* 'flushed with mead' (702a) at a feast, he demands the sacred vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had captured from Solomon's temple (59 - 60, 710b - 11a) but which even he had not been so presumptuous as to violate (753 - 56). Not content with this sacrilege he

> gealp gramlice   gode on andan,
> cwæð þæt his hergas   hyrran wæron
> and mihtigran   mannum to friðe
> þonne Israela   ece drihten.
> (713 - 16)
>
> boasted fiercely against God, said that
> his armies were a greater and mightier
> protection for men than the eternal Lord
> of Israel.

When Daniel comes to interpret the writing on the wall he calls Belshazzar and his men *deoflu* 'devils' (749a, 764a), thereby explicitly identifying them with the real devils, whose laments follow almost immediately in *Christ and Satan*. Although we do not witness the destruction of Belshazzar, we are given a glimpse of the Medes and Persians on their way to carry it out (696 - 99) in fulfillment of God's purpose (680 - 85). By so portraying earthly struggles as similar to each other and as parallel to an eternal archetype in their essential structure, the poet makes the point that there is nothing really new about earthly events.

Incidentals, such as location and the names of principals, may change, but the basic outline remains the same.

The second conflict between Christ and Satan in Liber II, the central action of lines 365 - 662, is the Harrowing of Hell. Like the casting out of the rebellious angels, this struggle also takes place outside time. But it represents a movement from eternity into time since it is determined by an event that takes place within time, the Crucifixion.[18] The Harrowing of Hell, like the Fall of the Angels, is a non-scriptural legend told in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. It arose as an attempt to account for Christ's whereabouts and activities during the three days between his Crucifixion and his Resurrection taking as its guide such Scriptural passages as Psalm 24:7-10, Isaiah 42: 7, 45:2, 53:9, Hosea 13:14 and 1 Peter 3:19.[19] According to this tradition, Christ descended into Hell during that period and burst asunder the gates of Hell in order to liberate the faithful of Old Testament, pre-Redemption times, and to cast the unfaithful farther into the Inferno.

In the medieval mystery cycles, the play of the Harrowing of Hell (York, 37; Towneley, 25; Chester, 17; N - Town, 33) was considered a "key play from the doctrinal point of view" because it dramatized "the whole concept of salvation." It depicted Christ as "King and Conqueror" defeating the Devil "for all eternity."[20] According to Martin Stevens, its depiction of a "physical encounter" between Christ and Satan made it "the dramatic climax of the cycle."[21] Geoffrey Shepherd has seen this holding true for the Junius Manuscript. He calls Christ's Harrowing of Hell "the central epic confrontation of good and evil" in *Christ and Satan* and "the dramatic crisis of the whole collection."[22]

Lines 398 - 401a of *Christ and Satan* say that

Hwearf þa to helle   hæleða bearnum,
meotod þurh mihte;   wolde manna rim,
fela þusenda,   forð gelædan
up to eðle.

The Measurer, by means of His might, turned to Hell, to the sons of men; wished to lead forth a number of men, many thousands, up to their homeland.

Christ *duru in helle/ bræc and begde* 'broke and bent the door of Hell' (379b - 80a). The faithful in Hell experience *blis* 'joy' when they see the Saviour's head (380b - 81), but the *atolan* 'evil ones' (382a) *wæron mid egsan ealle afyrhte* 'were all affrighted with terror' (383). Christ frees the blessed ones, leading them *up to eðle* (401a), which is Heaven, while at the same time he

wites clomma
feondum oðfæsted,   and heo furðor sceaf
in þæt neowle genip,   nearwe gebeged,
þær nu Satanus   swearte þingað,
earm aglæca,   and þa atolan mid him,
witum werige.   (442b - 47a)

fastened the fetters of torment on the fiends, shoved them further into that dark mist, narrowly constraining, where Satan now rules darkly, the miserable monster, and the foul ones [together] with him, wearied by torments.

The structure of the Harrowing of Hell consists of God penetrating the midst of Satan's territory to liberate those beloved by him and to punish his enemies further. Like the structure of the Fall of the Angels, that of the Harrowing is reflected in several of the Old Testament episodes recounted in Liber I. Among the most notable of these are the central actions of *Exodus* and *Daniel*, the crossing of the Red Sea and the saving of the Three Youths from the fiery furnace, as well as Lot's rescue from the cursed cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. The last two episodes in particular may be identified with the Harrowing of Hell, since the flames which destroy Sodom and Gomorrah and surround the Youths in the furnace form an obvious parallel with the fiery aspect of Hell. Indeed, the *sweartan lige* 'black flame' that is forecast as the instrument of God that will destroy the two cities (*Gen.* 1926b, 2417a, 2507b) is ominously similar to that described as filling a Hell (333b, 760b) which nevertheless remains *sweartan* (761b) and *leohtes leas* 'without light' (333a). Hell in Liber II is *dimme and deorc* 'dim and dark' (104a, 453a), despite the fact that *fyr* 'fire' surrounds its inhabitants (261b - 64).

In the Harrowing of Hell in Liber II it is the *þeoden*, *drihten* 'lord' of angels who liberates the blessed (386b, 395a, 518b, 533a); in *Daniel*, one of the angels of whom he is the lord protects Annanias, Azarias and Misael from the flames of Nebuchadnezzar's furnace (Dan. 237a, 272b, 336a, 345b, 353b). God sends his messengers to Lot (Gen. 2424b - 26a, 2435b - 37a, 2458b). They rescue him, first from the Sodomite mob (Gen. 2484b - 98a) and then from the impending destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (2500 - 34). Thus, just as the blessed are rescued by Christ from Hell outside time in the Harrowing, the loyal retainers of God are saved by their Lord from destruction in earthly situations, situations within time that parallel the Harrowing.

While Christ or his servants save those such as the Old Testament saints, Lot and his family, and the Three Youths who are faithful to and beloved by him, he metes out severe punishment to those who are hostile and disobedient. In the Harrowing, Satan, as we have seen, is pushed farther into the depths of Hell and his fetters are tightened. The people of Sodom and Gomorrah, who not only are disobedient to him but also seek to harm his messengers and Lot, his beloved, are first blinded (Gen. 2498b - 93a) and then, along with their cities, totally destroyed:

> Hlynn wearð on ceastrum,
> cirm arleasra   cwealmes on ore,
> laðan cynnes.   Lig eall fornam
> þæt he grenes fond   goldburgum in,
> swylce þær ymbutan   unlytel dæl
> sidre foldan   geondsended wæs
> bryne and brogan.   Bearwas wurdon
> to axan and to yslan,   eorðan wæstma,
> efne swa wide   swa ða witelac
> reðe geræhton   rum land wera.
> Strudende fyr   steapes and geapes,

swogende leg, forswealh eall geador
þæt on Sodoma byrig secgas ahton
and on Gomorra. Eall þæt god spilde,
frea mid þy folce. (Gen. 2548b - 62a)

Noise came into the castles, the tumult of the honourless, of the sinful tribe, at the onset of death. The flame took all that it found of green things in the gold-cities, likewise through no little portion of that wide earth about [the cities] burning and terror were sent. Groves, the fruits of the earth, were transformed to ashes and embers; just as widely as that, the play of punishment ranged fiercely [about] the spacious land of men. Plundering fire, roaring flame, swallowed all high and wide things together which men owned in the city of Sodom and in Gomorrah. God destroyed all that, along with the people.

In a similar way, Nebuchadnezzar's thanes, who obey his orders to stoke up the furnace, have the fire turned on them so that they, not the Youths, burn in the Hell-like flames:

Ða se lig gewand on laðe men,
hæðne of halgum. (Dan. 250 - 51a)
. . . .

. . . þæt fyr fyr scyde to ðam þe ða
scylde worhton,
hwearf on þa hæðenan hæftas
fram þam halgan cnihton,
(Dan. 265 - 66)
. . . .

ac he on andan sloh
fyr on feondas for fyrendædum.
(Dan. 343b - 344)

Then the flame turned on the hateful men, [on to] the heathens from the holy ones.
. . . .

that fire strayed far, onto those who worked that crime; turned on the heathen servants from the holy Youths.
. . . .

> but he [God's angel] slew fire onto the
> others, onto the fiends for their sinful
> deeds.

After they have been saved from the fire and Nebuchadnezzar has released them from the furnace, the Three Youths enjoy _are_ 'honour' (453b), _blæd_ 'prosperity' (454a), and _dom_ 'renown' (455a), and _Wæron hyra rædas rice_ 'their counsels have great influence' (456a) in Babylon. As for Lot and his family, they make their escape from Sodom _on Sigor up_ 'up into Sigor' (2522a). The Vulgate spelling of this city's name is _Segor_ (Zoar in the Revised Standard Version), and in lines 2533b and 2540a the MS. has _Sægor_. Only in 2522a is the name spelt like the noun meaning "victory."[23] This could very well be intentional word-play, since Lot's escape is indeed a victory. Furthermore, that he moves _up_ to _Sigor_/_sigor_ suggests the identical movement of the liberated saints who, after the Harrowing, are led _up to eðle_ 'up to the homeland' (_C&S_ 401a, 459a, 552a) to the joys of Heaven _uppe mid ænglum_ 'up with the angels' (_C&S_ 122a, 141a, 292a, 329a, 389, 590a).[24] The Three Youths and Lot, like the blessed in Hell, are freed from dire adversity and raised to a condition of glory and well-being.

Those loved by God are also rescued _in extremis_ at the crossing of the Red Sea. There are no Hell-like flames in the Junius Manuscript account, but pillars of fire and cloud and a personified Red Sea are God's agents in protecting the Israelites from the elements and rescuing them from the Egyptians. The pillar of cloud appears at the beginning of their journey out of Egypt to protect them from *hatum heofoncolum* 'the hot coal of Heaven, [the sun]' (*Ex*. 71a) which had *forbærned* 'burned' (70a) both the mountain slopes and the people of the area:

> Þær halig god
> wið færbryne folc gescylde,
> bælce oferbrædde byrnendne heofon,
> halgan nette hatwendne lyft.
> (*Ex*. 71b - 74)

> There holy God shielded the people against the fearful burning [of the sun], spread a covering over the burning Heaven, a holy net across the hot air.[25]

The pillar of fire which protects the Israelites is called *nihtweard* 'night-guardian' (116a):

> þy læs him westengryre,
> har hæðbroga, holmegum wederum
> on ferclamme ferhð getwæfde.
> (*Ex*. 117b - 19)

> lest terror of the wasteland, dark fear of the wilderness, [and of] stormy weathers, should overcome their souls with a sudden grip.

The Israelites are eventually *gehæged* 'caught' (169b) in pincers between the Red Sea and the advancing Egyptians: *ðe him on healfa gehwam hettend seomedon,/ mægen oððe merestream* 'on each of their sides enemies beset them,/ the great host or the sea-stream' (209 - 10a). But the sea divides at the touch of Moses' green wand and, as an active, personified instrument of God, permits passage to the Israelites but slays the Egyptians. The sea is described by words and formulaic epithets not normally applied to strictly inanimate objects. It is, for example, called *modig* 'courageous' (469a) and *rofene* 'brave' (464a), and a *nacud nydboda* 'naked messenger of hardship' (475a). The latter phrase is formulaically very similar to two others in the Junius Manuscript which are both applied to people. *Nacod niedwædla* 'naked needy one' (*Gen*. 929a) is applied to Adam, and *nacod nydgenga* 'naked traveller in hardship' (*Dan*. 632a) is used to describe the reformed Nebuchadnezzar as he returns to Babylon. By describing the sea in this manner, the poet is able to depict it as a living, thinking being. He also describes the sea as coming *neosan* 'to visit' (475b) the Egyptian host. It is a *fah feðegast, se ðe feondum geneop* 'hostile warrior, who smites down the enemies' (476).[26] The walls of water which the sea forms as it makes a way for the Israelites are referred to as *handweorc godes,/ famigbosma flodwearde* 'the handiwork of God,/ the foamy-bosomed guardian of the sea' (493b - 94a), and it is these walls of water that wield the *alde mece* 'old blade' (495b) against the Egyptians.[27] In short, the sea is presented as a sentient being, obedient, like all of Nature (cf. The Song of the Three Children in *Daniel*), to its creator. It is the loyal retainer of *mereflodes weard* 'the guardian of the sea-flood' (504b) and does not act until its master, *se mihtiga sloh/ mid halige hand, heofonrices weard,/ on werbeamas* 'the mighty one, the guardian of the heavenly kingdom, [smites] the protecting pillars [holding up the sea-walls that protected the Israelites as they passed] with his holy hand' (485b - 87a). Acting in this way, the sea in Exodus serves the same function as God's messengers do in the Lot episode and his angel does in Daniel: it is the instrument of God's salvation (quite literally) to his people in their direst need.

Since it comes directly before the battle between God's agent (the Red Sea) and the Egyptians, and just after the position of the Israelites has been presented as desperate, the Noah-Abraham episode (Ex. 362 - 446) is certainly not an "interpolation" in the sense that it is out of place.[28] Whether the episode owes its presence to the original author of Exodus or to someone else, it is entirely appropriate to emphasize the connection between Moses and the Israelites and their ancestors, Noah and Abraham, at this point. Just as those two were loyal to God (366, 422 - 23a) and therefore were the recipients of God's aid, so the Israelites, freoðowære heold 'loyal to the protecting covenant' (306b) and obedient to the holy teachings (307), can expect the same help. The Noah-Abraham episode allows the audience to be re-assured as to the ultimate fate of the Israelites. The episode would be effective even if we were to consider Exodus independently of its context in the Junius Manuscript, since the stories of Noah and Abraham from the Bible would certainly have been familiar to the audience. But coming only some 360 lines from the conclusion of *Genesis*, the last 1600 lines of which are devoted almost exclusively to the fortunes of Noah and Abraham, the episode would be especially *à propos*. As the Israelites leave Egypt at the beginning of *Exodus*, following the Plagues, the narrator comments as follows:

feond wæs bereafod,
hergas on helle. Heofon[29] þider becom,
druron deofolgyld. Dæg wæs mære
ofer middangeard þa seo mengeo for.
(*Ex*. 45b - 48)

> the fiend was robbed, as were the hosts of Hell. Heaven came there, the gilded-devils [i.e. idols] fell. The day was great throughout middle-earth when the [Israelite] multitude journeyed.

These lines could easily describe the Devil and his hosts in Hell being robbed by Christ of the souls of the Old Testament saints. In fact, they refer to Pharaoh and the Egyptians being deprived of their Israelite slaves. Described as *feondas* 'fiends' (*Ex*. 45b, cf. 22a, 64a 203b, 237a, 476b, 571a), Pharaoh and his people are implicitly identified with Satan and his cohorts, who are also described in like manner (*Gen*. 57a, 306a, 322a, 334b, 488a, 688b; *C&S* 76a, 103b, 195b, 443a, 461a). 461a, 477b). This suggestion of a parallel between the crossing of the Red Sea and the Harrowing of Hell is reechoed in lines 570 - 71a: *Life gefegon þa hie oðlæded hæfdon/ feorh of feonda dome* 'they rejoiced in their being alive after they had been led from the power of the fiend with their lives'. Like the saints in Hell, the Israelites are led alive from the power of the fiend, who in their case is Pharaoh.

The view of Robert Farrell[30] and Jean I. Young[31] that Exodus (as well as Daniel) exemplifies what Farrell calls "the theme of the Help of God" supports the similarity which we have posited between the Harrowing of Hell and the Exodus as well as the saving of the Three Youths. Young implies a thematic relationship of the Exodus to the Harrowing, which she calls "the main theme of Christ and Satan," and Farrell draws our attention to three further episodes prominent in Genesis as well as Exodus -- "Noah in the Flood, Abraham in Exile, Isaac threatened by his father" -- as further examples of "God's saving power" which illustrate this theme. The similarity perceived in the text of the poems is further reinforced by medieval exegesis which traditionally saw the Exodus (and the crossing of the Red Sea in particular) as a type of salvation, of which the Harrowing was the archetype since it dramatized "the victory which Christ won over death in its very own domain."[32]

The final confrontation between Christ and Satan, in lines 659 to 729 of Liber II, is Satan's Temptation of Christ in the wilderness. Unlike the other two confrontations this one takes place entirely in the realm of time and consequently reveals Christ as man, just as the first two had revealed his power and his mercy and compassion as divine.[33] That he is subjected to temptation at all reveals his human vulnerability; that he is able to resist discloses his strength as man made perfect. This confrontation (665 - 88) is conflated (689 - 97) with that of the time to come, Judgment Day (698 - 729) when time will once again be swallowed up in eternity. This conflation unifies the present of the poem's audience, which (like the Temptation) is in time, with the future, when on Judgment Day the audience, as well as Satan, will be subject to Christ's judgment. The judgment of Satan by Christ is not a conflict between them in the sense that the Casting Out of the Angels, the Harrowing of Hell, and the Temptation are: Satan has already been defeated three times and in the Judgment is simply sentenced.

Satan's Temptation of Christ and Christ's resistance are (to follow John Milton) paradise regained, the recovery of that paradise lost because of Satan's successful temptation of Adam and Eve. When confronted with the same choices, Christ by contrast stands firm and defeats his opponent. His response to Satan, *Cer ðe on bæcling!* 'Get you behind me!' (697b) becomes, since Christ is perfect man, archetypally correct, just as that of Adam and Eve is archetypally wrong. Because he is man in the Temptation, and has submitted himself to the world of time, Christ's act is the ultimate practical *exemplum* of right action for the time-and-space bound men of the poem's audience.

Besides balancing the temptation of Adam and Eve in Genesis B, the Temptation of Christ in Liber II reveals the spiritual significance of Abraham's trial in Liber I (Gen. 2846 - 2936; Ex. 384 - 446). Abraham's success identifies him with Christ as an archetypal model of loyalty and obedience to God. The Testing of Abraham occurs at the climax of the Genesis portion of Liber I. The two incidents, divided by earthly time, are significantly linked by the use of the verb costian 'to tempt', 'try', 'test', the only two occurrences of the verb in the Junius Manuscript:

> Þa þæs rinces se rica ongan
> cyning costigan
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . þone weregan . . .
> þa costode cyning alwihta
> (Gen. 2846 - 47a; C&S 667a, 669)

> Then the king of that kingdom began to
> test the warrior [Abraham]
> . . . .
>
> . . . the weary one [Satan] . . .
> then tested the king of all things.

The obvious difference between the two temptations is that in the first God is the tempter, but in the second, God as man is tempted. Abraham is asked by God to sacrifice with his own hands the very son God has given as fulfillment of his many promises to Abraham (Gen. 2188 - 2200, 2355 - 69, 2390 - 98) that his descendents would continue in prosperity and renown. Abraham's temptation is to disobey God and so violate the covenant between them in order to preserve the possibility of greatness promised to his children and grandchildren. As Abraham's people are promised a kingdom between the Euphrates, Nile and Mediterranean (the farthest reaches of the biblical world, *Gen*. 2204b - 15), Christ is offered *folc and foldan* 'people and lands' (*C&S* 685a), *burh and breotone bold to gewealde* 'city and bright hall to rule' (686). Just as Christ refuses the offer, Abraham unhesitatingly gives up his hopes for the future in order to obey God: *Nalles nergendes/ hæse wiðhogode* 'not at all withstood the Saviour's command' (*Gen*. 2864b - 65a). Abraham *nihtreste ofgeaf* 'gave up his night-rest' (2864a) and hurried (*efste*, 2873a, 2931a; *onetton*, 2873b) to obey God's commands (2898b, 2893 - 94, 2872b) and follow his *tæhte* 'directions' (2855b, 2874b, 2886b, 2901b). In the testing of Abraham stories which are recounted in *Genesis* and *Exodus*, as in the biblical source, the focus falls upon Abraham rather than Isaac. This very fact indicates that what interests the poet here is not Isaac's prefiguring of Christ, as in the mystery cycles, but Abraham's steadfast obedience as a model of faith and loyal devotion[34] and a concrete example of right action. Abraham's success in the testing signifies to God:

> ". . . þæt þu wið waldend wære heolde,
> fæste treowe"
> . . . .
> ". . . þæt þe wæs leofre his

> sibb and hyldo   ponne pin sylfes bearn."
> (Ex. 422 - 23a; Gen. 2921b - 22)
>
> ". . . that you are loyal to the covenant
> with the Ruler, secure in the faith"
>
> . . . .
>
> ". . . that his peace and support was more
> beloved to you than your own son."

Like the Casting Out of the Rebellious Angels and the Harrowing of Hell, the Temptation of Christ fits in with the concept of battle, of cosmic struggle, which we have suggested is the structural principle of the Junius Manuscript. All three are violent physical confrontations between Christ (God) and Satan. As Robert Finnegan points out,[35] the account of the Temptation in Liber II has Satan actually laying hands on Christ (679b - 82), an act for which there is no Scriptural basis. In retaliation, as the Temptation melds into the Judgment, Christ physically casts Satan into the depths of Hell, and assigns him a very physical punishment: to measure out -- in two hours -- the length and breadth of Hell on his hands and knees.[36] By expanding the biblical source in this way, the poet dramatically emphasizes the sheer physical aspect of this confrontation between Christ and Satan.

It has been objected that the chronology of events in Liber II is disjointed, since the Harrowing of Hell which follows the Crucifixion precedes the account of the Temptation which occurred before the Crucifixion. On this basis Richard L. Greene long ago proposed that the last two portions of Christ and Satan ought to be re-arranged,[37] and it is one of the factors which has led to the opinion that Christ and Satan is essentially a random collection of fragments. As we have seen, however, there is with the present ordering a movement in Liber II from eternity into time. This movement corresponds to that in Liber I. The account of the Creation and Fall of the Angels which begins Liber I is followed by the Fall of Adam and Eve, the central event of which is the first historical event, the Eating of the Forbidden Fruit. All the other events of sacred history recounted in Liber I occur in time but are based on archetypal models established in eternity, outside time.

The reason for this ordering of events from eternity to time is overtly didactic. The Junius Manuscript was compiled most probably to educate its audience regarding the correct relationship between man and God and on that basis to inculcate right action. Events of the past (that is, those events of biblical history presented) are not of importance for their own sake but because of their utility in remedying the present.[38] Like the mystery cycles it precedes, the Junius Manuscript

> concentrated . . . upon the significant past and the significant future; . . . addresses toward present time were hortatory and didactic, designed to shape action, not to record it.[39]

Accordingly, the Junius Manuscript seeks to "shape the action" of contemporary men so that they behave in accordance with God's will. Such conduct will result not only in eternal bliss in the hereafter but help from God even now in the present age for those who are loyal to him, who fight in the cosmic struggle on his side rather than Satan's. "Received linear chronology" is manipulated[40] in order to emphasize this present-day relevance of the message of biblical story.

Earlier critics such as Krapp and Clubb appear to take it too easily for granted that a feeling for structure is not a particularly strong point with the Old English poets.[41] A study of the structure and theme of the Junius Manuscript reveals, however, that what these poets/compiler(s) did "was of design, and . . . for that design there is a defence that may still have force."[42] The later addition to the manuscript (Liber II) is viewed as having been added to serve as a revelation of the eternal import, the spiritual significance, of events in Liber I, on the analogy of the relationship seen to exist between the New Testament and the Old. This approach to the Junius Manuscript[43] discloses an overall structural plan which, along with the movement of events in both books from eternity into time, serves the manuscript's didactic purpose by emphasizing the contemporary relevance of praising and serving God, of being on his side in the ongoing cosmic war.

Chapter IV: Imagery of Hall, Troop and Treasure

In Anglo-Saxon poetry, as in any other corpus of poetry, the familiar and mundane are infused with poetic meaning to reveal what is extraordinary, profound, and mysterious. This process of creating metaphor enables what is already known to become a vehicle for disclosing what is not. The Old English poets make use of the hall and the relationships and activities within it as the central metaphors in a vast complex of imagery that denotes their concept of what the universe is like and the nature of man's role in it. This chapter and the next will discuss this imagery and show how its central metaphors are used by the poets of the Junius Manuscript to express what I am suggesting is the manuscript's prevailing theme.

The hall, as a physical structure, was the most prominent feature of an Anglo-Saxon settlement. It was surrounded by out-buildings (buras, cf. Bwf. 140a) of various sorts and probably by defensive earthenworks and a wall.[1] Around the defensive wall were the fields (wangas) where crops were tilled and animals pastured. Beyond these familiar environs the world became increasingly remote, unknown and dangerous until one reached the monster-filled waters (garsecg) which surrounded the island itself and, in medieval cosmography, ringed the world as a whole.[2] The settlement (burh, tun) was thus the centre of a hostile world and the hall in turn the centre of the tun.[3] The hall was oblong with a high, vaulted ceiling borne aloft by timbered beams, and filled with light and warmth from an open fire. The most important object in the hall and the focus of all the activities which took place within it was the high-seat (heah-setl) of the lord, usually placed half-way down one of the long walls. Ranged along the walls were benches wide enough so that men could sleep on them (cf. Bwf. 1239 - 41). The floors (flet, floras) were often of stone, the doors were wide and sometimes double and occasionally, as with Heorot, the walls, both inside and out, were bound fast with strips of iron (cf. Bwf. 773b - 75a). Archaeological excavations have shown that the description of Heorot in Beowulf was not necessarily an exaggeration of reality; immense halls were not uncommon.[4]

While the hall itself offered obvious benefits of protection from the harsh elements and long, dark, winter nights of northern latitudes, it was also important as the home of the troop or dryht, commonly known as the comitatus, a name given by Tacitus in his Germania (98 AD).[5] The comitatus was the most important feature of Germanic society, transcending even family loyalties.[6] It consisted of a lord and his retainers bound together by mutual obligation and personal affection. The relationship between lord and retainer went beyond mere necessity and legalism and became so "intensely personal in its ideal manifestations"[7] that it was not unusual for each party to refer to the other as "beloved." The obligation of a retainer (_þegn_, _gesið_) to his lord was loyalty and obedience. This loyalty was radical and total; it demanded that a retainer be prepared to die in battle with his lord, either defending, assisting or avenging him. It was a disgrace to survive one's fallen lord, just as it was to betray him by fleeing the battle. This ideal of loyalty is expressed in _The Battle of Maldon_ by Byrhtwold as he fights on over the body of Byrhtnoth, his slain leader:

> "fram ic ne wille,
> ac ic me be healfe   minum hlaforde,
> be swa leofum menn   licgan þence."
> (317b - 19)

> "I will not [go] from [here] but I, by the
> side of my lord, the beloved man, think to
> lie [in death]."

The narrator comments that all of Byrhtnoth's retainers desire only one of two things: _lif forlætan oþþe leofne gewrecan_ 'give up life or avenge their beloved' (208).

The lord on his part was obligated to dispense his wealth generously to his retainers who usually assisted him in gaining it. This wealth took the form of rings (_hringas_, _beagas_) of gold and silver, often gem-encrusted. The giving of treasure served both parties well. The lord was able to reward loyal thanes for acts performed in his service and by his generosity assure that such loyalty would continue. The thane was freed from material needs and given the further security "of a defined position in his society,"[8] since the receipt of treasure from a lord established him as being a member of that lord's troop and under his protection. The treasure which the lord gave to his followers became, however, more than mere wealth: it was a sign of the giver's value as a lord and the recipient's value as a retainer,[9] a reification of the connection between them and, in effect, a symbol of their relationship. The amount of wealth a thane obtained from his lord and the degree of the lord's generosity to his followers were tangible, concrete signs of their respective moral conditions.[10]

Besides granting gifts of treasure to his retainers, the lord was also obliged to exact wracu 'vengeance' or wergild 'compensation' for any injury suffered by members of his comitatus.[11] This discouraged outsiders from attacking individual members of the troop thus giving them a measure of protection (friðe, mundbyrd) from potential enemies and "a sense of personal safety in a world of danger and sudden violence."[12]

In the hall the comitatus relationship was forged, renewed and strengthened by the distribution of wealth, oaths of fealty, and the general conviviality (wynn, dreamas) of eating, drinking, singing, and boasting. The hall, therefore, was at the social nexus and moral center of Anglo-Saxon life. Exclusion from the hall because of treachery or cowardice or the hall's destruction (along with one's lord and fellow retainers) meant that the retainer was isolated, without protection and without any of the good things which the communal society of the _dryht_ offered. Lacking a homeland, the dispossessed _þegn_ was forced to seek a new lord and _comitatus_ that would accept him. Meanwhile he existed in a state of deprivation and constraint, buffeted by the elements and continually fearful of attack by enemies. _The Wanderer_ portrays such an unfortunate, who has as his only consolation the knowledge that there is a Lord and _Comitatus_ in Heaven to which he may gain entry and for which he therefore yearns. The loss of an earthly lord and _dryht_ is a disaster of such magnitude that only by invoking the Lord and Troop of Heaven can the wandering exile be consoled. This condition of exile, the loss of or exclusion from a _comitatus_, is thus the "epitome of misfortune in heroic life" and "the greatest evil which can befall" the Anglo-Saxon.[13]

The hall, _comitatus_ and exile become the daily touchstones of a complex of imagery which the Old English poets employ to make larger statements about the nature of the world and man's place in the cosmic scheme. The hall itself, "its enemies and the anti-hall," as Hume notes, "provide the vocabulary for what appear to be the principal

Anglo-Saxon existential metaphors."[14] The "old dryht loyalties of lord and thane have been transferred to the sky and made cosmic principles,"[15] and "travelling in exile is often more than merely geographical; explored here are the existential spaces of moral orientation."[16]

More specifically, when the hall is used as a metaphor for middangeard 'middle-earth' in Old English poetry, it functions, according to Alvin Lee,

> . . . as a great light-filled hall in the midst of the garsecg or surrounding waters, a hall whose roof is the heavens, whose dryhten is the Creator, and whose inhabitants . . . are the earthly dryht of Adam and his progeny.[17]

Accordingly, when Christ creates the earth, his actions are those of someone building a hall:

> . . . he gefestnade   foldan sceatas.
> Seolfa he gesette   sunnan and monan,
> stanas and eorðan,   stream ut on sæ,
> wæter and wolcn,   ðurh his wundra miht.
> Deopne ymblyt   clene ymbhaldeð
> meotod on mihtum,   and alne middangeard.
> . . . .
>
> Daga enderim
> seolua he gesette   þurh his soðan miht.
> Swa se wyrhta   þurh his wuldres gast
> serede and sette   on six dagum
> eorðan dæles,   up on heofonum,
> and heanne holm.   (C&S 3 - 8, 12b - 17a)

> . . . fastened the corners of the earth. He himself established the sun and moon, stones and earth, the stream out in the sea, water and cloud, through his wondrous might. The Measurer by his strength upholds entirely the deep expanse [of the ocean] and all middle-earth.
> . . . .
>
> The count of the days [to their end] he himself

> established through his true strength.
> Likewise the Creator, through the spirit of
> his glory, devised and established the valleys
> of the earth and the deep sea in six days,
> [from] up in the heavens.

He *arærde* 'raised up' the *rodor* 'sky' and *gestaþelode* 'established' the spacious land (*Gen*. 114 - 15a). In *mereflode middum* 'the midst of the sea-flood' (145) he commanded *hyhtlic heofontimber* 'pleasant heaven-timbers' (146a) to arise. During the first day of Creation time, hastens over *timber . . ./ middangeardes* 'the timbers . . ./ of middle-earth' (135b - 36a). God separated the waters and *geworhte þa/ roderas fæsten* 'made then the fastness of the sky' (144b - 49a). The earth which was thus constructed *wuniað gyt/ under fæstenne folca hrofes* 'still remains under the fastness of the roof of peoples' (152b - 53). This kenning (*folca hrofes*), which identifies the sky as a roof for peoples, is echoed in the context of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the *hihtfulne ham* 'pleasure-filled home' (946a) of Paradise: the *hyrstedne hrof halgum tunglum* 'roof adorned with holy stars' (956) is not taken away. In *Cædmon's Hymn* one of the things for which men are urged to praise God is the fact that he has created *heofon to hrofe* 'Heaven as a roof' (6a) for men. Similarly, as *Exodus* begins, we are told that God made known to man how he created the world:

hu þas woruld worhte   witig drihten,
eorðan ymbhwyrft   and uprodor,
gesette sigerice.   (25 - 27a)

> how the wise lord made this world,
> the circumference of the earth and the
> high skies, established the victory-
> kingdom.

The diction in which these Creation passages (cf. Bwf. 92 - 98) are couched establishes parallels with the earthly process of hall-building. For example, the verb timbran 'to build' is used in other contexts with reference to the building of such comparatively mundane things as the first city (Gen. 1057b), the Tower of Babel (Gen. 1692a), the hall of Abraham after he returns from Abimelech's kingdom (Gen. 2841a) and Solomon's temple (Ex. 391a). Weorcan (Gen. 114a; Ex. 25a; cf. C&S 14a) means simply 'to make/construct' in the context of the altars which Abraham builds (Gen. 1791a, 1806a, 2842a), Noah's ark (Gen. 1302b, 1307a, 1316b) and his post-deluvian vineyard (Gen. 1558a). The presence of settan 'to found/establish' (Ex. 27a; C&S 4a, 13a, 15a) calls to mind the similarly described actions of Noah (1558b) in setting up his vineyard and of Abraham building a hall after he returns from Egypt (1881a), building an altar (1882b), and planting a grove by another hall (2841b). Similarly, the use of ræran (Gen. 114a) and hebban (Gen. 148b), which both mean 'to raise or lift up' reminds us of the building of the Tower of Babel (1675b, 1681b). In sum, the actions of God in creating the earth are described by verbs identical to those which describe the actions of mortal men constructing buildings and establishing settlements on earth.[18]

It is Heaven itself which provides the model according to which Christ *sereð* 'plans / devises' (*C&S* 15a) the form which the earth will have. The kingdom of Heaven (*heofonrice*) is described as *heahgetimbro,/ godlice geardas* 'high-timbered [with] excellent yards' (*Gen*. 739b - 40a). Heaven is called a *hehseld* 'high-hall' (*C&S* 43b, 47a, 207a), a *halige seld* 'holy hall' (*C&S* 347b) and again, *heahgetimbrad* 'high-timbered' (*C&S* 29b). Heaven is further depicted as a *cestre* 'city' (*C&S* 256a, 297a, and 655a) where the blessed *sittað* 'sit' by the Son of the Healer (*C&S* 645 - 46). The entrance to Heaven is a *geat gylden gimmum gefrætewod* 'golden gate adorned with gems' (647). Its description is reminiscent of Heorot in *Beowulf*, *geatolic and gold-fah* 'splendid and adorned with gold' (308a), and the street which leads up to it, *stan-fah* 'adorned with [precious] stones' (320a). Heaven has *weallas* 'walls' substantial enough to reflect the radiance of the *wlitige* 'brightly radiant' (*C&S* 650) saints. Thus we see that Heaven, the "ideal, eternal order of being,"[19] is itself a hall of which the earth is a copy in time and space.[20]

Satan's desire to build a hall of his own to rival God's is a concrete manifestation of his prideful disobedience and rebellion:

> Þohte þurh his anes cræft

> hu he him strenglicran   stol geworhte,
> heahran on heofonum;   cwæð þæt hine his hige speone
>
> þæt he west and norð   wyrcean ongunne,
> trymede getimbro   (*Gen*. 272b - 76a)

> He thought how he might, by his own strength, build a stronger throne, higher in heaven; said that his thought encouraged him that he should begin to build a stately building in the west and north.

The rebellious angels in *Christ and Satan*, moreover, *Heofon deop gehygd,/ þa heo on heofonum ham staðelodon* 'lament deeply [their] thought [plan] to establish a home for themselves in Heaven' (*C&S* 343b - 44, cf. 275, *Gen*. 33).

What Satan receives as punishment for this rebellion which threatened the "golden dryht" of God, his lord, is a "parody of Heaven,"[21] a perversion of what he desired. For *þam werlogan* 'those breakers of the covenant' (*Gen*. 36b) God creates a hall (*hof*, *sele*) which is *werigan* 'miserable' (*C&S* 331b), *hate* 'hot' (*C&S* 192a) and *rædlease* 'devoid of good counsel' (*Gen*. 44b). It is a *witehus* 'house of punishment or torment' (*Gen*. 39a; *C&S* 626b) and a *manhus* 'house of wickedness' (*Ex*. 536b). It is a *ham* 'home' described variously as *atola* 'evil' (*C&S* 95b), *wræclicne* 'wretched' (*Gen*. 37a), *ðeostræ* 'dark' (*C&S* 38a), and *walica* 'woeful' (*C&S* 99a). Superficially it is like a real hall, with floors (*C&S* 39b - 40a, 70 - 71a, 317b - 18a) and doors (*C&S* 379b, 465b, 720a), but the floors are of boiling fire and the doors are not strong enough to prevent Christ (at the Harrowing) from breaking them down to deprive Satan of some of his thanes and harm him in his own hall. They afford Satan and his thanes no comfort or protection. This hall is filled with flames (*Gen*. 43a; *C&S* 263b - 64)[22] but nevertheless remains dark (*Gen*. 42a, 345b, 761b; *C&S* 38a, 100a, 104a, 110b, 336b) and cold (*Gen*. 43b; *C&S* 334b, 635b).[23] It cannot guard its inhabitants against enemies (Christ), nor can it protect them against the elements of nature. Though it contains a fire, even greater than that of a real hall, it remains cold and is filled with *neowle genip* 'dark mists' (*C&S* 101a, 179a, 444a, 703b) and wind (*C&S* 135b, 319a, 384a).[24] Whereas the walls and door of a hall protect those inside against the ravages of military enemies and harsh weather, these are part of the internal conditions of the hall of Hell. Though, like Heorot, it is *mid irne eall ymbfangen* 'all bound about with iron' (*C&S* 516), Christ cannot be prevented from entering or leaving at will.

Kathryn Hume remarks that anti-halls often "gain poetic resonance from their affinities with the grave":[25] in *Christ and Satan* and *Exodus*, Hell is described as a *scræf* 'pit, grave' (*C&S* 26b, 73b, 417a, 631a, 690b, 724b; *Ex*. 538a, cf. *Wanderer*, 84), and a *grim græfhus* 'grim gravehouse' (*C&S* 707a). Hell is also termed a *carcern* 'prison' (*C&S* 488a, 635a); like a grave and a prison both, and unlike a true hall, the inhabitants are not free to come and go -- the hall of Hell holds them captive. In every way, Hell is certainly most ungelic 'unlike' Heaven (cf. Gen. 356 - 58a, 794b - 95). It is an anti-hall: the negation and inversion of everything a good hall should be.

The anti-hall nature of Hell and the absolute distinction between it and Heaven are sharpened by the presence in Heaven of the conventional joys (wynn, dreamas) of the hall, while Hell is filled conversely with their opposites. In a true hall, the bonds of the comitatus are strengthened by the shared conviviality of food, drink and song. In Beowulf there is dream 'joy' in Heorot, hludne in healle; þær wæs hearpan sweg,/ swutol sang scopes 'loud in the hall; there was the sound of the harp, the clear song of the minstrel' (88b - 90a). During the celebration which follows the killing of Grendel:

> Leoð wæs asungen,
> gleo-mannes gyd. Gamen eft astah,
> beorhtode benc-sweg, byrelas sealdon
> win of wunder-fatum. (1159b - 62a)

> The lay [i.e. the Finn Episode just completed] was sung, the song of the glee-man [minstrel]. Merriment rose up, bench-sound brightened, cup-bearers dispensed wine from wondrous vessels.

For the wanderer, it is a matter of regret that symbla gesetu 'seats at the feasting' (Wand. 93a) and sele-dreamas 'joys of the hall' (Wand. 93b) are no more. In The Seafarer, the speaker laments the fact that he has had to content himself with pale imitations of hall-joys:

                    ielfete sang
. . . to gamene,   ganotes hleoðor
and hwilpan sweg   fore hleahtor wera,
mæw singende   fore medu-drince.
                    (19b - 22)

> the song of the swan . . . for merriment, the laughter of the gannet and the sound of the curlew for the laughter of men, and the singing sea-mew for mead-drinking.

These hall-joys are present in the hall of Heaven, where there is *gleam and dream . . . beorhte blisse* 'joy and pleasure . . . bright bliss' (*Gen*. 12b, 14a), *wuldres blæd . . . hehselda wyn . . . dreamas* 'the fruit of glory . . . joy of the high hall . . . joys' (*C&S* 42b, 43b, 44b). There is *sang ymb [æt] selde* 'song about [at] the hall' (*C&S* 233a, 661a), and the melodious *wuldres sweg* 'sound of glory' (*C&S* 151b, 235b). Its inhabitants *wuniað in wynnum* 'dwell in joys' (*C&S* 506a, 554, 592a), *dryhtene deore* 'dear to the lord' (*C&S* 82a):

. . . wæs soð swa ær   sibb on heofnum,
fægre freoþoþeawas,   frea eallum leof,
þeoden his þegnum;   þrymmas weoxon
duguða mid drihtne,   dreamhæbbendra.
                    (*Gen*. 78 - 81)

> there was true peace in heaven as before [the rebellion of the angels] fair customs of peace, the lord dear to all, the prince [dear] to his thanes; glories grew for the loyal troop with the lord, the possessors of joy.

Hell, by contrast, is *dreama leas* 'without joys' (*Gen*. 40a, 108a). Instead it is filled with lamentation and cries of anguish: a *gnornende cynn grundas mænan* 'mournful tribe moan in the depths' (*C&S* 133), *þær is wom and wop* *wide gehered* 'there [in Hell] woe and wailing is heard widely' (*C&S* 332, cf. 333b). Its inhabitants gnash their teeth in the agony of their torments, filling the hall with their tumult: *gristbitungc . . . toða geheaw,/ hlude and geomre* 'biting together [of teeth] . . . gnashing of teeth, loud and miserable' (*C&S* 333a, 338b - 39a). Instead of the pleasure and consolation (*hyht*) of hall-joys and the fellowship of their fellow *comites*, those who reside in Hell have to be content with much less:

> cyle and fyr,
> wean and witu and wyrma preat,
> dracan and næddran
> (*C&S* 334b - 36a)
>
> cold and fire, woe and torments and a
> troop of serpents, dragons and snakes.

The only song they hear is that of the last-named: *nedran swæg* 'the song of the snake' (*C&S* 101b). If it is true that "the hall is poetically equivalent to the *mondream* ['man-joys'] it encloses,"[26] Hell is most certainly a demonic inversion of Heaven.

The earth is a *niwra gesceafta* 'newer creation' (*Gen*. 208a) expressly made to replace that violated by the rebellion of the angels. Thus its creation, according to Lee, is

> . . . at once a restoration of an original divine pattern and an extension of the celestial dryht into another part of the universe.[27]

The halls occupied by earthly troops are therefore intended to be like that which God created for Adam and Eve: *god and gastlic, gifena gefylled/ fremum forðweardum* 'good and hospitable, filled with the long-lasting benefits of gifts' (*Gen*. 209 - 10a). This "hall", *Neorxnawong* 'Paradise,' contains fair streams and welling springs which irrigate (*leohte*) land adorned with fruits (*Gen*. 210b - 15a) like particularly fertile fields surrounding a prosperous Anglo-Saxon *tun*. When Adam and Eve disobey, they are expelled from this *hihtfulne ham* 'pleasure-filled home' (*Gen*. 946a) an epithet also applied to Heaven in *Christ and Satan*, 215a. Adam loses the absolute power he held while seated in the *stronglican stol* 'powerful throne' (*Gen*. 366) which he occupied next to God's own as Lucifer's replacement. But God in his mercy allows Adam and Eve to remain within the hall of *middangeard* (*Gen*. 952 - 960). Succeeding troops abuse and pervert the hall-joys of earth, however, and suffer further punishment from God. The descendents of Seth disobey God and seek brides among the sinful children of Cain (*Gen*. 1248 - 52); their progeny grow *womma ðriste,/ inwitfulle* 'eager in evil,/ full of malice' (1272b - 73a). For their abuse of the pleasures which their Lord has made possible, they are swept away by the Flood.

In a similar way, the people of Sodom and Gomorrah adopt a life of sin which is displeasing to God:

. . . hie firendæda   to frece wurdon,

> synna þriste,   soð ofergeaton,
> drihtnes domas,   and hwa him dugeða forgeaf,
> blæd on burgum.   (*Gen*. 2582 - 85a)

> . . . they became too daring in criminal deeds, too eager in sins, forgot the truth, the judgments of the Lord, and who gave them benefits, prosperity in the city.

From their halls it is not proper *dream* which is *swiðe hludne* 'very loud' (*Gen*. 2409b), as it is from Heorot (*Bwf*. 88b - 89a), but rather *synnigra cyrm . . ./ ealogalra gylp, yfele spræce* 'the noise of sins . . ./ ale-inspired boasts, evil speech' (*Gen*. 2409a, 2410). Despite all the *duguða* 'benefits' (2584b, cf. 2421a) with which they have been provided by God, they repay their lord only with *gnyrne* 'insults' (2422a). For this they are consumed by Hell-like flames (2550b - 62a). The Israelites, after their return from the Egyptian captivity, are prosperous until *hie wlenco anwod æt winþege/ deofoldædum, druncne geðohtas* 'pride came upon them, devilish deeds, drunken thoughts, at the wine-taking' (*Dan*. 17 - 18). The feasting which should lead to a strengthening of the bond between Lord and retainer here, as at Sodom and Gomorrah, is perverted and instead breaks up the *comitatus* because it leads the Israelites to *forleton/ drihtnes domas, curon deofles cræft* 'forsake the commands of the Lord, choose the skills of the devil' (*Dan*. 31b - 32). They are given over to their enemies, led by the demonic Nebuchadnezzar. Belshazzar, Nebuchadnezzar's descendent, *under wealla hleo*

. . . wealle belocene 'under the cover of walls . . . locked behind walls [in his hall]' (*Dan*. 690a, 695b) seats himself *to symble* 'to the feast' (Dan. 700a) and *medugal wearð* '[becomes] flushed with mead' (*Dan*. 702a). At the feasting Belshazzar does not strengthen the fellowship between himself and the Lord who made him prosperous and powerful; rather he *gealp gramlice* 'boast[s] fiercely' (*Dan*. 713a) against God and violates the sacred vessels (*Dan*. 703 - 11). Subsequently he, like the Israelites before him, is given over to his enemies. Belshazzar is ultimately consigned to the anti-hall of Hell, as we are made aware by Daniel's characterization of him and his *comitatus* as devils (*Dan*. 749a, 764a).

Those, on the other hand, who are loyal to God and do not abuse the *eorðan dreamas* 'joys of earth' are seen in situations reminiscent of the *heahseld* 'high-hall' of Heaven and the *hihtfulne ham* 'hope-filled home' of Paradise. Malalehel, the great-grandson of Seth, Abel's replacement, is described as possessing *mondreama* 'man-joys (*Gen*. 1176b) in this world. Lot, *eadega* and *wærfæst* 'blessed' and 'true to the covenant' (*Gen*. 2597b, 2598a), and *waldende leof* 'beloved of the Ruler' (*Gen*. 2598b), is given land by the Jordan River:

> grene eorðan
> Seo wæs wætrum weaht   and wæstmum peaht,
> lagostreamum leoht,   and gelic godes
> neorxnawange
> (*Gen*. 1921b - 24a)

> green earth. It was awakened by waters
> and covered with fruits, irrigated by
> lake-streams, and like God's paradise.
> cf. *Gen*. 210b - 212a, 214b - 15a.[28]

The liberated Israelites, after the crossing of the Red Sea,[29] are described as a troop enjoying the pleasures of the hall:

werod wæs on salum,
sungon sigebyman, (segnas stodon),
on fægerne sweg.
. . . .
Hreðdon hildespelle, siððan hie pam herge wiðforon;
hofon herepreatas hlude stefne,
for pam dædweorce drihten heredon,
weras wuldres sang. (*Ex*. 565b - 67a, 574 - 77a)

> the troop was in joy, victory-trumpets sang
> (banners stood) in a fair [melodious] sound.
> . . . .
>
> [They] rejoiced in the battle-story after they
> went against that army; the army-troops [of the
> Israelites] raised loud voices praising the lord
> for the noble deed, men sang of glory.

The troops (*werod*, *herepreatas*) here raise up their voices and those of their trumpets in celebratory song (*sang*, *sweg*) and rejoice (*hreðdon*) in recounting their experiences in battle (*hildespelle*), just as thanes in an actual Anglo-Saxon hall might regale each other with tales of past glories. The Finn Episode in *Beowulf*, about which the minstrel sings in Heorot after the death of Grendel, is just such a *hildespelle*.

Besides using the architectural structure of the hall and the convivial joys of *comitatus* fellowship within it as sources of imagery, the poets of the Junius Manuscript also make use of treasure-giving, the granting of wealth by a lord to his loyal retainers, as a metaphor for the relationship between God and his creatures. We have already noted the social and symbolic significance of such gift-giving in Anglo-Saxon society; all that needs to be reiterated here is that the hall was the "centre of power from which treasure was distributed"[30] and within the hall "the fundamental gesture was the lord's giving of treasure from the high seat."[31] Hrothgar, the lord of Heorot, whom the *Beowulf*-poet describes as a *god cyning* 'good king' (863b), *eall gedælan/geongum ond ealdum, swylc him God sealde,/ . . . beagas dælde,/ sinc æt symle* 'dispenses all that God gave him, to young and old . . . [he] dispensed vessels, treasure at the feasting' (71b - 72, 80b - 81a). The *heahsetl* 'high-seat,' or simply *setl* or *stol* 'seat, chair, throne,' from which gifts of treasure are given out becomes the conceptual centre of that sub-complex of imagery which we are now examining: wealth, its distribution, and their ironic reversals. Being denied access to the source of wealth or the destruction of the *heahsetl* (or *gifstol* 'gift-seat') are, because of the moral values associated with treasure, among the greatest of misfortunes in Old English poetry. The wanderer laments the loss of the *maðum-giefa* 'treasure-giver' (*Wand*. 92b), and part of his tragedy is his separation from the *giefstol* (44b). In *Beowulf*, Grendel's exclusion from the presence of the gief-stol (Bwf. 168b) is indicative of his cursed and forscrifen 'proscribed' (106b) condition.[32] Later in Beowulf the destruction of the gif-stol Geata 'gift-seat of the Geats' (2327a) by the bryne-wylmum 'whelming fire' (2326b) of the dragon causes Beowulf hyge-sorga mæst 'the greatest of sorrow' (2328b), þeostrum geþoncum, swa him geþywe ne wæs 'dark thoughts, as was not customary for him' (2332, cf. 1384 - 85). The calamity is of such magnitude that Beowulf, whose gifstol it was, wonders whether he has offended God (2329 - 31a); no explanation short of that appears sufficient. Thus, negatively, we have evidence of the significance of the heahsetl and what it represents.

In the macrocosmic hall of Heaven, the heahsetl is occupied by God himself:

> . . . he sylfa sit,   sigora waldend,
> drihten hælend,   in ðæm deoran ham,
> and ymb þæt hehsetl   hwite standað
> engla feðan   and eadigra,
> halige heofenþreatas   herigað drihten
> wordum and weorcum.   (C&S 217 - 22a)

> he himself, the Ruler of Victories, the Healing Lord, sits in that dear home, and about that high-seat stand the white troops of angels and the blessed, the holy troops of Heaven praise the Lord in words and deeds.

God is pictured very much as an earthly lord of Anglo-Saxon times, surrounded by his troop of loyal retainers who pay homage to him as he sits on his throne. After the rebellious angels have been cast out of Heaven, the setl 'throne' of God is seen standing alone amidst gifum *growende on godes rice,/ beorht and geblædfæst* 'growing gifts in God's kingdom, bright and filled with blessing' (*Gen*. 88 - 89a). Heaven is described as *buendra leas* 'without inhabitants' (89b). The poignancy of having so much wealth but no retainers to receive it inspires God to build a new hall, that is, to create the earth, and fill it with a new *comitatus*, Adam and Eve and their descendents.

Lucifer, who already has *setla geweald* 'power over [his own] high-seat' (*Gen*. 411b) second only to God's in magnitude (*Gen*. 254a, 536b), greedily and improperly wants to supplant God's high-seat with his own:

> he on norðdæle
> ham and heahsetl heofena rices
> agan wolde.
> . . . . . .
> "Ic hæbbe geweald micel
> to gyrwanne godlecran stol,
> hearran on heofne." (*Gen*. 32b - 34a,
> 280b - 82a)

> he, in the northern parts [of Heaven],
> wished to own the home and high-seat of the
> kingdom of Heaven.
> . . . .
> "I have much power to adorn a more excellent
> throne, higher in Heaven." Cf. *Gen*. 272b - 74a.

Lucifer's reward is not only failure but the loss of the throne he already occupies: *Þa wearð se mihtiga gebolgen,/ hehsta heofones waldend, wearp hine of þan hean stole* 'then the mighty one, the Ruler of Highest Heaven, grew angry [and] cast him from that high seat' (*Gen*. 299b - 300).

In *middangeard*, modelled after Heaven, those retainers of God who remain loyal and obedient to him are allowed to maintain their thrones. Although *eðel-setl* and *eðel-stol* are often translated simply as synonyms for 'homeland, native land,' they refer literally to the throne (*setl* or *stol*) from which the homeland (*eðel*) is ruled. Seth (*Gen*. 1129b), Noah (*Gen*. 1485a, 1514b), Abraham's father at Carran (*Gen*. 1748a) and Lot (1927b) are all described as being the possessors of such thrones from which they govern a troop and dispense treasure.

Not only do the four poems of the Junius Manuscript contain reference to the *heah-setl* as it is found both in Heaven and on earth, but the "fundamental gesture," the giving of treasure from the high-seat, is also prominent. When God himself is the distributor, treasure can take various forms; basically, every good thing which men receive is conceived as a gift from God.[33] The first suggestion of this is seen in the use of *dælan* 'to divide or separate,' but also 'to distribute, dispense' (cf. *Bwf*. 71b, 80b) in the *Genesis* Creation passage. We read that *waldend ure* 'our ruler' (147a) *Holmas dælde* 'separated/ distributed seas' (146b), and that the *Flod wæs adæled/ under heahrodore* '[sea-] Flood was separated/distributed under the high sky' (150b - 51a). In both places, particularly in view of the biblical source (Gen. 1: 6-7, cf. OE *Gen*. 152a), what is almost certainly intended is that we read *dælan* to mean 'separate' or 'divide'. But since *dælan* can also mean 'distribute,' as in other passages which we shall examine, and since both passages cited above come in the midst of diction (146a, 147b - 48a, 153) which we have earlier shown to be suggestive of an earthly hall, there is reason to consider that *dælan* may have an intentional ambiguity in this context and may be meant to suggest that God is dispensing the waters about the earth as an earthly lord would dispense treasure. The very act of Creation is thus seen in terms of gift-giving.[34] The first creature to receive gifts from God's high-seat is Lucifer. God gives him intelligence (*he him gewit forgeaf*, *Gen*. 250b) and power second only to his own:

> ænne hæfde he swa
> swiðne geworhtne,
> swa mihtigne on his modgeþohte, he let
> hine swa micles wealdan,
> hehstne to him on heofona rice.
> (*Gen*. 252b - 54a)

> one [Lucifer] he had so greatly shaped, so mighty in the thoughts of his mind, [that] he let him rule so much, highest [next] to himself in the kingdom of Heaven.

Lucifer has a physical beauty *gelic . . . þam leohtum steorrum* 'like . . . the bright stars' (256a), *þæt him com from weroda drihtne* 'that came to him from the lord of hosts' (255b). Instead of thanking his Lord (257b) for *þæs leanes þe he him on þam leohte gescerede* 'those rewards which he had given to him in [the form of] that light' (258a), Lucifer turned to *wyrsan þinge* 'worse things' (259a).[35]

God continues to grant gifts to those of his followers who remain loyal, inspired by the same mercy and generosity that later leads him to allow the benefits of earth and the adorned sky to remain as comforts for a fallen and outcast Adam and Eve. In *Christ and Satan* we read that *dreamas he gedelde, duguðe and gepeode* 'joy he [Christ] distributed, prosperity and languages' (19)[36] to Adam and that *æðele cyn,/ engla ordfruman* 'noble tribe, the first of angels' (20b - 21a). Also we read that *drihten weoroda* 'the lord of hosts' (*C&S* 580b) even *nu* 'now' (579a), *dæleð dogra gehwæm . . . help and hælo hælepa bearnum/ geond middangeard* 'each day distributes . . . help and health to the sons of men throughout middle-earth' (580 - 82a). To Adam he *sealde* 'granted' (*Gen*. 174b, 883b) help (*wraðe*, *Gen*. 174b; *fultum*, *Gen*. 173b) in the form of a woman, Eve, and control of all the beasts of land and sea is *on geweald geseald* 'given into [his] power' (*Gen*. 202b). God makes a similar gift to Noah (*Gen*. 1516b) after the Flood has destroyed the original creation and life begins anew. God's gifts to his loyal followers can be as concrete as those of an earthly lord. They can be the *sinc* 'treasures' of gold and *seolfre* 'silver' *begas* 'rings' which Abraham possesses (*Gen*. 1725, 1769, 1876), or which the Israelites have been promised in *Exodus* (557a) and are themselves distributing in *Daniel* (2a). God, *goldes brytta* 'distributor of gold' (*Gen*. 2868a), gives such *gife* 'gifts' as a *lean* 'reward' to the captive Israelites who maintain their loyalty to him during their Babylonian captivity (*Dan*. 199, 395b, 420b).

Even Nebuchadnezzar is given wealth and prosperity by God. The greatness of Babylon over which he gloats is, in fact, a *sundorgife/ þe him god sealde* 'special gift, which God granted him' (*Dan*. 605b - 06a). The objects of wealth which Nebuchadnezzar is able to plunder from the Israelites are also *gifena . . . þe him þær to duguðe drihten scyrede* 'gifts . . . which the Lord gave him there for his prosperity' (*Dan*. 86a, 87). Like his counterpart in eternity, Nebuchadnezzar is not thankful for what he has been given (*Dan*. 85 - 86) and is cast down. Because he slays Abel, who had offered an acceptable sacrifice to God (*Gen*. 976b - 78a), Cain is denied the riches which would otherwise have been granted him in the hall of *middangeard*: *Ne seleð þe wæstmas eorðe/ wlitige to woruldnytte* 'earth will not give you beautiful riches for enjoyment in the world' (*Gen*. 1015b - 16a). The sinful people of Sodom and Gomorrah have been given so much wealth that their cities are referred to as *goldburgum* 'gold-cities' (*Gen*. 2551b, cf. *Gen*. 2406a) and they themselves are able to distribute it, presumably to retainers of their own (1997b). When, despite their wealth, they ignore and disobey the lord who *him dugeða forgeaf,/blæd on burgum* 'gave them benefits, prosperity in the cities' (2584b - 85a), they are *gesealde* 'granted' (1925b, 2508a) their final reward: whelming fire, like that granted to Lucifer.[37]

The gifts which God dispenses from his *heahsetl* in Heaven are not only as concrete and material as this; *help and hælo* 'help and health' (*C&S* 581a) are among the gifts God bestows even now on his followers. He gives the captive Israelites power over weapons (*gesealde wæpna geweald*, *Ex*. 20a) so that they can escape from Egypt and claim the *onwist eðles* 'habitation of a homeland' (*Ex*. 18a) which he also gives them (16a). The ability Daniel has to interpret dreams is the result of God's *gife of heofnum* 'gift from Heaven' (*Dan*. 154b). Daniel is *gæst geseald* 'granted the spirit' (*Dan*. 532b, cf. *Dan*. 154 - 55, 737) from God in Heaven in order to reveal God's messages to Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar. Abimelech, though he is Abraham's (and therefore God's) enemy, is nevertheless aware that it is God who *sigor seleð* 'grants victory' (*Gen*. 2809a). God is referred to by the epithet *lifes brytta* (*Gen*. 122a, 129a) indicating that he gives the gift of life itself, and not just earthly life; as the *Christ and Satan*-poet emphasizes, God *us no forlæteð, ah lif syleð/ uppe mid englum, eadigne dream* 'does not forsake us, but grants life, blessed joy, up with the angels' (291 - 92).

The most important of all God's gifts in the poems of the Junius Manuscript, however, are the pledges and covenants which he gives to men.[38] First among these is

God's *wære* 'pledge' to protect Noah and his family from the coming Flood (*Gen*. 1328 - 32a). The second is given, also to Noah, after the first has been fulfiled: *Ic eow treowa þæs/ mine selle* 'I give you this my pledge' (*Gen*. 1535b - 36a). God promises never to destroy the world by Flood again, and sets the rainbow in the sky as a sign of this promise (*Gen*. 1538b - 42). The central promise of the latter half of *Genesis* is that Abraham will have a son who will be the progenitor of a tribe so vast that it will fill the world. This promise is first made in lines 2204b - 08a:

"Ic þe wære nu,
mago Ebrea, mine selle,
þæt sceal fromcynne folde þine,
sidland manig, geseted wurðan,
eorðan sceatas . . ."

"Prince of the Hebrews, I now give you
my pledge that the corners of the earth,
many a broadland of the world, shall be
settled by your progeny . . ."

This *wære* 'pledge' is given again and again:

"Gien þe sunu weorðeð
bearn of bryde þurh gebyrd cumen."
(*Gen*. 2197b - 98)

. . . .

"Ic þa wære forð
soðe gelæste." (*Gen*. 2309b - 10a)

. . . .

"Þonne ic þas ilcan oðre siðe
wic gesece, þe beoð wordgehat
min gelæsted." (*Gen*. 2395 - 97a)

"Still a son shall come to pass for you, a son
[shall come] from that bride in birth."

. . . .

"I henceforth [in the future] will truly fulfill the pledge."

. . . .

> "When I seek this same place next
> time, my word-promise will be carried
> out."

The birth of Isaac (*Gen*. 2760 - 67) fulfills the promise given to Abraham, for Isaac himself is a gift (2331a). Likewise the *burh and beagas, brade rice* 'city and rings, broad kingdom' (*Ex*. 557) to which the liberated Israelites look forward after the crossing of the Red Sea is viewed as the fulfillment of this same promise *pæt he lange gehet/ mid aðsware* 'which he [God] long promised with oath-swearing' (*Ex*. 558b - 59a, cf. *Ex*. 432 - 36). In like manner, an earthly lord would carry out any promise which he gave to his retainers and had sworn oaths to in front of the *comitatus* gathered in the hall. This series of promises is crucial to the Junius Manuscript because it forms an integral part of the testing process to which the Israelites are being submitted in the first three poems, beginning with the Fall of Adam and Eve. The promised progeny will (as the audience is well aware) bring forth the Second Adam, who will, as we see in *Christ and Satan*, stand firm where the First failed and be the Redeemer (in a real, physical way at the Harrowing of Hell) of all those who maintain loyalty to God after the Fall. In order that the chosen people be able to recognize and accept him and that they be worthy to receive the Son of God, their trust must be absolute and their faith true -- hence the testing. At the same time the promise serves as a *frofre* 'comfort' (*Gen*. 2311a) to them in the midst of the adversities which try them. It is important to note that these centrally important pledges are described as having been *given*, as an earthly lord might give gifts to his retainers, and for the same reason: to ensure the comfort and loyalty of those retainers.

God's loyal retainers are able, like their Lord, to dispense treasure of their own. Their halls and troops within the larger ones of *middangeard* are imitations of the divine one. Mathusal, though in the line of Cain, *dælde . . . æðelinga gestreon* 'dispense[s] . . . the treasure of nobles' (*Gen*. 1069b, 1071a) to his brothers and kinsmen. Jared, the father of Enoch, *gold brittade* 'dispense[s] gold' (1181b). Noah's father, Lamech, *woruld bryttade* 'dispense[s the treasure of] the world' (1226a), thus ruling it. Noah himself *land bryttade* 'distribute[s] land' (1236a) after the death of Lamech, as his own sons *ead bryttedon* 'dispense[s] blessings (1602b) such as their *beorht wela* 'bright wealth' (1603b) presumably, after his passing. Japhet's son, Geomor, succeeds him and *dælde* 'dispense[s]' *fæder flettgesteald* 'the household treasures of his father' (1611) to friends and relatives. Abraham *woruld bryttedon* 'dispense[s] worldly treasures' (1724b), and in battle against the Northern armies, in true heroic fashion, he *sealde/ wig to wedde, nalles wunden gold* 'grant[s] battle as a promised security, not at all wound gold' (*Gen*. 2069b - 70, cf. *Maldon*, 46). Once the battle is over and the victory won, Abraham generously returns the captured treasures to their rightful owner, the king of Sodom (2139 - 50) though he has been told by the latter (2128b - 30a) that he may keep it if he wishes. He does, however, keep some treasure so that like a proper Germanic lord he can reward those warriors who aided him in battle:

> . . . dæle þissa drihtwera,
> Aneres and Mamres and Escoles.
> Nelle ic þa rincas rihte benæman,
> ac hie me fulleodon æt æscpræce,
> fuhton þe æfter frofre. (*Gen*. 2151 - 55a)

> . . . the portion [belonging to] these troopmen, Aner, Mamre, and Eshcol. I do not want to take from those warriors what is right, because they fully aided me at the ash-struggle [battle], fought to ensure your comfort.

In *Exodus*, the Hebrews *dælan* 'dispense' (585b) Joseph's treasure (588b) which consists of *segnum . . . ealde madmas,/ reaf and randas . . . gold and godweb* 'banners . . . old treasures,/ garments and shields . . . gold and good-weave [high-quality cloth]' (*Ex*. 585b, 586b - 87a, 588a) among themselves as a consequence of the destruction of the Egyptians. After their return from Egypt, the Israelites *goldhord dælan* 'dispense the gold-hoard' (*Dan*. 2b) until they fall away from loyalty to their Lord. The descendents of the reformed Nebuchadnezzar *ead bryttedon* 'distribute blessings' (*Dan*. 671b, 690b) until Belshazzar, in his drunkenness, violates the sacred vessels and boasts against God. These last two instances demonstrate that treasure is forthcoming from the Lord only as long as his retainers keep their part of the obligation, loyalty.

Satan, Nebuchadnezzar, and Abimelech are ineffective lords, in contrast with those who are loyal and obedient to God as the Israelites and Chaldeans both are for a time at least. Satan, of course, leads his followers into the miseries of the anti-hall, Hell. He has no rewards for them except the misery of God's punishment; in eternity as in time, all true rewards come from God. Nebuchadnezzar is unable to protect his own thanes from the flames he has had kindled to destroy those of God. Abimelech is termed a brytta 'ruler, distributor' of synna 'sins' (Gen. 2642a) rather than sinces 'treasure'.[39] Indeed, those who follow this leader are rewarded with sterility (Gen. 2742 - 49), the very antithesis of the increase and prosperity which comes to those loyal to God.

In this chapter we have shown how the Old English poets of Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and Christ and Satan describe all three levels of their universe in images of the hall and the activities which take place therein. The relationships which obtain between Creator and creature, God and man, are portrayed in imagery drawn from the Anglo-Saxon hall and the Germanic comitatus which occupy it. Those loyal and obedient to God are consistently represented enjoying the normal pleasures of the hall, receiving gifts from God, their Lord, and dispensing them to their own followers. The disloyal and disobedient are portrayed in reversals of these norms, suffering in temporal terms and enduring the eternal miseries of the ultimate anti-hall, Hell. In this way the Old English poets forcefully express Christian truths and teach a Christian message in the language of Germanic tradition. Thus they make the overall didactic theme -- the necessity and propriety of serving and praising God -- clear and emphatic to their audience.

The final chapter will show how the poets use the related Germanic imagery of exile to express this theme further.

Chapter V: The Imagery of Exile

The condition of exile in Anglo-Saxon society was much to be feared. In a world "in which all joys were communal" the exile was forced to "depend upon himself for all his worldly joy."[1] In a society in which treasure was "the material manifestation of the proven or inherent worthiness of whoever possesses it,"[2] to be denied access to the heahsetl from which all treasure flowed was in effect to be denied any social status whatever. A thane's personal security was assured only by his belonging to a comitatus, whose lord would demand vengeance or compensation from those who injured him. The condition of exile therefore meant constant vulnerability to attack. Finally, exclusion from hall and tun or the loss of these forced the exile to face the long, dark nights and the harsh elements in isolation and with scant protection. Hence it is no exaggeration to say that exile represented "the epitome of misfortune"[3] in Anglo-Saxon life.

In Old English poetry isolation from social relationships and their concomitant joys and benefits "is typically expressed . . . by the images that cluster around the figure of the exile."[4] Cast out of the circle of warmth and light into the threatening darkness outside hall and tun, the exile serves as an ideal metaphor for the lack of moral and spiritual values represented symbolically by hall, troop and treasure; in social terms being exiled means being without these centrally important things.[5]

But there was another concept of exile prevalent in Anglo-Saxon society. The concept of the _peregrinatio pro amore dei_ 'traveller for the love of God' can be understood best by a brief glimpse at Augustine's _City of God_. Augustine assigns all societies and all individuals in time and space into two metaphorical cities, the City of God and the City of Man. The City of Man includes all earthly societies which look no farther than themselves for their own strength and glory. Their creation is inspired by a self-love that contemptuously rejects God. The City of God, on the other hand, loves God more than itself and indeed carries its love of God to the point of self-contempt; it glories not in man but in his Creator.[6] The first citizen of the City of God was Abel, who, Augustine says, was "a pilgrim and a stranger in this world." He goes on to say more generally that

> the City of the saints is up above, although it produces citizens here below, and in their persons the City is on pilgrimage until the time of its kingdom comes.[7]

All Christians, citizens of the heavenly city, are by definition exiles and pilgrims in this world. To avoid the lucre and attraction of societies belonging to the City of Man, zealous and ascetic Anglo-Saxons and Celts voluntarily chose a life of exile despite (indeed, because of) its hardships. How prevalent this was is not easy to say. Bede refers to numerous instances in the Ecclesiastical History. A certain Willibrord (III, 13), for example, for heofona rices lufan in elpeodignesse lifde 'lived in exile for the love of the heavenly kingdom.' The Abbess Hild (IV, 23) of Whitby, where the apocryphal author of the Junius Manuscript poems may have lived, retired in later life to a monastery at Caale in Gaul to in elpeodignesse fore Drihtne lifigean 'live in exile for the Lord.'[8] Dorothy Whitelock interprets the speaker of The Seafarer as such an exile.[9]

In both views, the situation of exile itself was seen as totally negative. The first saw it as punishment for failing to be loyal to one's lord, the second as a voluntary trial undergone by those so loyal to the Lord that they gave up society. Both views are evident in the Junius Manuscript. Whether the poets are speaking of exile in the usual sense or in that of peregrinatio, the same diction is used. This diction emphasizes three aspects of exile besides explicitly identifying the character as an exile. A lack of the benefits of a comitatus forms one of the major aspects of exile. The idea of deprivation is expressed by the past participles of words such as bedælan, bescirian, bereafian, bedreosan, and benæman following the instrumental or genitive singular or plural of the benefit which is lacking. Additionally, the suffix -leas, and the adjective feasceaft 'destitute' express the idea of lack or loss.

Leaving one's hall is the second major aspect of exile along with the consequent wandering the exile endures as he desperately searches for a new lord and comitatus. Thus, such verbs as gewitan 'to depart,' faran, wadan 'to journey,' tredan 'to tread, step,' secan 'to seek,' hweorfan 'to turn, wander,' are also prominent in exilic diction, along with the noun laste 'path,' particularly in combination with forms of wræccan, and the adverb feorr 'far.' Finally, exile imagery often refers to the exile's wretched state of mind with words such as geomor, earm, earfoð, hean, compounds of these adjectives, plus compounds of adjectives ending in -cearig and -mod.[10] In The Seafarer, the exile laments,

> ". . . ic earm-cearig   is-cealdne sæ
> winter wunode   wreccan lastum,
> wine-magum bedroren." (14 - 16)

> ". . . I dwelt, miserably-caring, on the ice-
> cold sea in winter, in the paths of exile,
> bereft of friendly kinsmen."

Similarly, in The Wanderer the speaker expresses his condition as oft earm-cearig, eðle bedæled,/ freo-magum feorr 'often miserably-caring, bereft of a homeland, far from noble-kinsmen' (20 - 21a). He is fated (5b) to wadan wræc-lastas 'travel the paths of exile' (5a) over a hrim-cealde sæ 'ice-cold sea' (4b). Grendel, whom God forscrifen hæfde 'had proscribed' (Bwf. 106b), is described as earfoðlice 'miserable' (Bwf. 86b): he hean gewat,/ dreame bedæled 'he departed abjectly, bereft of joys' (Bwf. 1274b - 75a).

References to winter, ice, cold and snow, auxiliary aspects of exile imagery, occur in both The Wanderer (4b) and The Seafarer (14b - 15a). This coldness contrasts with the warmth found in a hall. By setting an exile "in a frostbound wintry landscape," the poets objectify and amplify the hardships he undergoes.[11]

Not all the particular words and possible formulaic elements listed here need be present to evoke the theme of exile. As Stanley Greenfield has demonstrated, these words and formulas are regularly collocated to form a consistent theme of exile. When one or a few occur in any given context, however, they carry with them "some hint of the contexts in which these formulas or words had previously appeared."[12]

Not surprisingly the exile par excellence in the Junius Manuscript is Satan. Since he rebels against God and seeks to violate the heavenly comitatus, his punishment consists of expulsion from that comitatus and exclusion from its benefits. Occurring outside earthly time, his exile is eternal and therefore so much the worse. The Junius Manuscript provides two perspectives of Lucifer's exile. Genesis A presents the exile at a distance. We witness the punishment prescribed and carried out by God. Christ and

Satan shows the exile from the point of view of those who must endure it. We hear the laments of Satan and his troop; we witness Satan's own recognition that he is in perpetual exile from Heaven. What was presented impersonally in the third-person in *Genesis* is confirmed by the first-person testimony of the exile himself in *Christ and Satan*. The two perspectives complement and validate each other.

The *Genesis* account of Lucifer's exile begins with the statement that God created a *wræclicne ham* (37a) for the rebellious angels. Then God

> Heht þæt witehus   wræcna bidan,
> deop, dreama leas
> . . . . . .
>
> besloh synsceapan   sigore and gewealde,
> dome and dugeðe,   and dreame benam
> his feond, friðo   and gefean ealle,
> torhte tire,   and his torn gewræc
> . . . . . .
>
> æðele bescyrede
> his wiðerbrecan   wuldorgestealdum.
> (*Gen.* 39 - 40a, 55 - 58, 63b - 64)

> Commanded the exiles to remain in that house
> of torments, deep, without joys
> . . . .
>
> stripped the sinful-injurer of victory and
> power, renown and benefits, and deprived his
> enemy of joys, protection, and all pleasure,
> bright glory, and avenged his injury
> . . . .
>
> sheared away the noble ones, those who fought
> against him, from glorious treasures.

These passages present the process of exiling God imposes on Lucifer. Lucifer and his hosts are explicitly termed *wræcna* 'exiles' (39b). The picture of exile is strengthened in these passages by the presence of *wræclicne* 'wretched' (37a) and *gewræc* 'avenged' (58b). The first syllable of *wræclicne* and the last of *gewræc* share identical spelling and sound with *wræcna*. The words are also conceptually linked: the "wretched" home to which the "exiles" are sent, stripped of all good things (55 - 58), is God's "vengeance" for the *torn* 'injuries' that have been inflicted on him. Besides explicitly identifying Lucifer/Satan as an exile, these passages contain deprivation diction consistent with the theme of exile: *leas* 'without' (40a), *besloh* 'stripped' (55a), *benam* 'deprived', lit. 'took away' (56b), *bescyrede* 'deprived', lit. 'sheared away' (63b). Satan is also described as journeying to his *wræcstowe* 'place of exile' (90a):

> Waldend sende
> laðwendne here   on langne sið,
> geomre gastas.
> . . . . . .
> . . . wræcstowe   werige gastas
> under hearmlocan   heane geforan.
> (*Gen*. 67b - 69a, 90 - 91)

> The ruler sent the troop that had turned
> to hatefulness, the miserable spirits, on
> a long journey.
> . . . .
> to the place of exile, the miserable
> spirits journeyed abjectly down, under
> the harm-locker [prison].

Here also we have statements of the miserable and dejected state of mind of the fallen angels as they enter upon their exile: *geomre*, 69a; *werige*, 90b; *heane*, 91b.

The point of view in these passages is somewhat unique in that it comes primarily from the lord imposing the exile. The emphasis is on the fact that he *his torn gewræc* 'avenged the injuries against him' (58b). Satan and his followers must *bidan* 'dwell/remain' (39b) in Hell because God so *heht* 'commanded' (39a); they take their *langne sið* 'long journey' (68b) because he *sende* 'sent' (67b) them. The effect of presenting the exile of Lucifer/ Satan from this point of view is to elicit support for the Lord who commands and is obeyed rather than sympathy with Lucifer for the miseries he must undergo as an exile. The essential justice of God's position is not vitiated by dwelling excessively on imagery of exile. The torments of Hell are portrayed primarily as those of an anti-hall, and the use of the third-person point of view provides emotional distance. The punishment is therefore seen as eminently appropriate considering Lucifer's over-weening desire to rule a hall of his own.

In *Christ and Satan*,[9] the third-person account of the exiling is abandoned. The truth of the exile is confirmed by Satan's own words:

> ". . . ic sceal hean and earm   hweorfan ðy widor,
> wadan wræclastas,   wuldre benemed,
> duguðum bedeled,   nænigne dream agan
> uppe mid ænglum."
>
> . . . .
>
> ". . . sceal nu wreclastas
> settan sorhgcearig,   siðas wide."
> Hwearf þa to helle   þa he gehened wæs,

godes andsaca;   dydon his gingran swa.
(*C&S* 119 - 22a, 187b - 90)

> "I must abjectly and woefully wander the more widely, travel the paths of exile, deprived of glory, bereft of benefits, to own no joy up with the angels.
>
> . . . .
>
> ". . . must now inhabit the paths of exile, in long journey, sorrow-caring."
> God's enemy turned then to Hell when he was made abject; his followers did so [also].

These passages make use of more exilic imagery than does *Genesis*. But any sympathy they might generate in the audience is mitigated by the immediately following statements of the narrator, the troop of fallen angels and by Satan himself about Lucifer's crime and presumption. Satan admits,

". . .   ic ær gecwæð
pæt ic wære seolfa   swægles brytta,
wihta wealdend." (*C&S* 122b - 24a)

> "I said previously that I myself was the chieftain of the skies, the ruler of all-things."

This confession tends to deflate any sympathy engendered by what has gone immediately before because it is evidence, spoken by the offender himself, that his exile is for good reason. The weight of lines 122b - 24a in this respect is all the stronger since it is already the third such passage in the poem. The first, in the voice of the narrator, comes in lines 22 - 24, and the second, from Satan's own thanes, in lines 56b - 57. Before the second passage (11. 187b - 90), Satan also admits *ic gepohte adrifan   drihten of* *selde,/ weoroda waldend* 'I thought to drive the lord, the ruler of hosts, from the hall' (186 - 87a).[13] This has the same deflating effect on the passage which follows.

Exilic diction suffuses *Christ and Satan* in the descriptions of Hell and of the fate of Satan and his followers. Like Grendel in *Beowulf* (106b), Satan and *þæt scyldige werud* 'that guilty troop' (33a) are *forscrifen* 'proscribed' (33b), that is, sentenced to exile. Hell, the anti-hall to which they are consigned, lacks all the good things contained in a hall (92b - 95a):

> Blace hworfon
> scinnan forscepene, sceaðan hwearfedon,
> earme æglecan, geond þæt atole scref.
> (*C&S* 71b - 73)
>
> The bleak ones wandered, the mis-shaped shining ones, the injurious ones, miserable monsters, wandered through that evil pit.

Like exiles they *wreclastas wunian moton* 'must inhabit the paths of exile' (257) and *hwearfan* 'wander' (71b, 72b, 340a) *geond* 'through' (73b, 340a) Hell. They are deprived of benefits (*duguðum bedeled*, 121a), glory (*wuldre benemed*, 120b; *wuldres bescyrede*, 342b), joys (*dreamum bedelde*, 68a, 343a, cf. 121b), the hope of joy or consolation (*hyhtwillan leas*, 158b), and good things generally (*goda bedæled*, 185a; *goda lease*, 330a). Being *blace* 'black/pale' (71b) they are, by definition, bereft of colour. By contrast, the blessed souls in Heaven and the angels who remained loyal when Lucifer revolted *Beorhte scinað* 'shine brightly' (294b), have eadigne dream 'blessed joy' (292b) and are sorgum bedælde 'deprived [only] of sorrows' (295b).[14] When contrasted with the diction applied to Lucifer/Satan and his rebellious host, the diction used to describe the heavenly hosts illustrates clearly and practically the advantages of being loyal and obedient versus the disadvantages of being rebellious.

The conflicts between God and Lucifer/Satan provide eternal archetypes for human struggles in earthly time and Satan introduces his own sin into the world with his temptation and betrayal of Adam and Eve. Likewise Satan's exile provides the model for all exiles meted out to men on earth. Immediately after they succumb to Satan's invitation to eat the forbidden fruit, Adam and Eve, for example, become aware that the very act of eating has made them exiles:

> Hwurfon . . . ba twa,
> togengdon gnorngende on þone grenan weald,
> . . . .
>
> Gewitan him þa gangan geomermode
> under beamsceade blæde bereafod
> . . . .
>
> hean hleoðrade hrægles þearfa
> (Gen. 840b - 41, 858 - 59, 866)
>
> Both two turned, went mournfully into the green forest.
> . . . .
>
> Both departed, going sad-minded under the shadow of the tree bereft of leaves
> . . . .
>
> spoke [to God] abjectly of [their] need for clothes.

These passages describe their mournful state of mind (gnorngende, 841a; geomermode, 858b; hean, 866a), their movement into exile (hwurfon, 840a; togengdon, 841a; gewitan, gangan, 858a), and the lament about their pearfa 'need' for clothes, the lack of which they are now for the first time aware. The poet comments that the tree under which they hide from God is blæde bereafod 'bereft of leaves' (859b). This diction contributes to the air of loss and deprivation even though the loss does not occur directly to Adam and Eve. Indeed it is Adam and Eve who have reafode 'plundered' (901a) the tree of its blæd 'fruit' (Gen. 883 - 85a, 890b - 93a, 901b - 02; C&S 415 - 16a, 481b - 82a).

Through their sin, Adam and Eve have willfully violated the moral and spiritual foundation of the lord-thane relationship they have with God in the hall of Paradise (cf. 878b - 79). They are driven from the hall therefore and sent into exile by the Lord against whom they have offended:

> "Þu scealt oðerne eðel secean,
> wynleasran wic, and on wræc hweorfan
> nacod niedwædla, neorxnawanges
> dugeðum bedæled." (Gen. 927 - 30a)

> "You must seek another homeland, a dwelling place without joy, and wander in exile as a naked needy one, spearated from the benefits of Paradise."

God drives them into the exposed and deprived condition which Adam, after eating the fruit, foresaw (802b - 15a) as the future condition of man.

In killing Abel, Cain is subject to exile because he violates the *comitatus* relationship he and his brother share as thanes of God. He must *on wræc hweorfan,/ awyrged to widan aldre* 'wander in exile, cursed to a great age' (1014b - 15a), *geomor hweorfan,/ arleas of earde þinum . . . . þu flema scealt/ widlast wrecan, winemagum lað* 'wander miserably, without honour, from your home . . . . You must beat a long path as a fugitive, hateful to friendly kinsmen' (1018b - 19a, 1020b - 21). Cain accepts the sentence; the poet represents him as a Germanic thane in an earthly *comitatus* who knows and accepts, even while he laments, that exile is a just punishment for slaying one's kinsman and fellow thane.[15] He confesses his crime: *Ic his blod ageat,/ dreor on eorðan* 'I spilled his blood, [his] gore on the earth' (1030b - 31a). Then in diction as exilic as that in which God sentences him he restates his punishment:

> Þu to dæge þissum
> ademest me fram duguðe and adrifest from
> earde minum.
> . . . .
> Ic awyrged sceal,
> þeoden, of gesyhðe þinre hweorfan.
> (*Gen*. 1031b - 35)

> You, on this day, exclude me [by judgment]
> from benefits and drive me from my home.
> . . . .
> I, Lord, must wander from your sight, [being]
> accursed.

Finally, the narrator tells us that Cain did as the Lord commanded him:

> Heht þa from hweorfan
> meder and magum . . . Cain gewat
> gongan geomormod gode of gesyhðe,
> wineleas wrecca . . . fædergeardum feor.
> (Gen. 1047b - 48a, 1049b - 51a, 1053a)
>
> [God] Commanded then [Cain] to wander away
> from mother and kinsmen . . . . Cain departed
> going sad-minded from the sight of God, a
> friendless exile . . . [to a place] far from
> the lands of his father.[16]

In Daniel Azarias sees the fate of the proud and sinful Israelites in exilic terms: Siendon we towrecene geond widne grund,/ heapum tohworfene, hyldelease 'We are exiled through the wide world, our troops are scattered, without grace' (300 - 01). Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the huge tree which is cut down (495 - 522) to mean that Nebuchadnezzar will dreamleas beon,/ westen wunian 'be without joys, dwell in the wasteland' (557b - 58a) as an exile, in effect, for seven years. God will send him wineleasne on wræc 'into exile, without friends' (568), until his heart onhweorfe 'turns about', i.e. 'is changed/ converted' (569a). As the dream is fulfilled Nebuchadnezzar on fleam gewat 'departed in flight' (613b) and wod . . . on gewindagum/ geocrostne sið 'travelled . . . into days of struggle, a sad journey' (615 - 16a). After his gast ahwearf in godes gemynd 'his soul turned into mindfulness of God'(629):

> Gewat þa earmsceapen eft siðian,
> nacod nydgenga, nið geðafian,
> wundorlic wræcca and wæda leas.

(Dan. 631 - 33)

> Then the miserably-shaped one journeyed
> again, the naked traveller in need,
> acknowledging his sin, a strange exile
> and without clothes.

These lines explicitly describe Nebuchadnezzar as a wundorlic wræcca 'strange exile' (633a), travelling (613b, 615a, 616a, 630) in a state of wretched (615b - 16a) deprivation (557b, 631a, 632b). In addition Nebuchadnezzar is linked specifically to other exiles by special elements of diction: he is described like Satan (C&S 73a), as being earmsceapen 'miserably shaped' (631a). Like Adam and Eve, who are nacod niedwædla (Gen. 929a), Nebuchadnezzar is portrayed as a nacod nydgenga (632a). Additionally, hweorfan 'turning / wandering' (569a, 629a, cf. 626b), a word which we have often seen used with reference to the departure and wandering of exiles, reinforces the exilic diction. As it appears here, hweorfan refers to the 'turning' of Nebuchadnezzar's mind from his sinful condition to his recognition and acceptance of God's lordship; before his physical exile, his mind in its self-pride exists in a kind of exile.[17]

To this point we have discussed those earthly exiles who are cast out of the comitatus in which God is the lord and they the retainers. In this they are like their archetype, Lucifer/Satan. Failure to praise and serve God properly brings about their exclusion from the benefits of this relationship. When used to depict the fates of Satan, Adam and Eve, Cain, the sinful Israelites (in *Daniel*) and Nebuchadnezzar, the imagery of exile reinforces the prevailing theme in the Junius Manuscript by showing the exile imposed upon the disobedient and disloyal.[18]

But as we have suggested, being an exile could also be looked on in favourable terms if it was willingly undergone for the love of God. Being without the pleasures of the *comitatus* could lead one to greater understanding of the impermanence of worldly existence in relation to the permanence afforded by Heaven; the hardships of exile might serve also as a penitence for sins already committed. Having no earthly lord to turn to forced an exile to focus all his attentions on his Lord in Heaven.

The lines that refer to Nebuchadnezzar's exile illustrate the spiritual benefits of exile which led some medieval Christians to choose a life as *peregrinus*. Only living apart from men in a *westen* 'wasteland' (558a, 621a) with *wilddeora gewita* 'the mind of a wild beast' (623a) leads Nebuchadnezzar to *nið geðafian* 'recognize his sin' (632b). Likewise, the Song of Azarias demonstrates that the Hebrew's exile is just and spiritually therapeutic. Azarias thanks God for the hardships of the Hebrew's exile in Babylon: *Þæs þe þanc sie,/ wereda wuldorcyning, þæt þu us þas wrace teodest* 'for this we thank you, glory-king of hosts, that you have granted us this punishment (307b -

08).

If we accept Professor Whitelock's interpretation of The Seafarer as peregrinus, then Adam's wish to on sæ wadan 'journey on the sea' (Gen. 830b), on flod faran 'travel on the flood' (Gen. 832a), suggests that he wants to atone for his crime by becoming a peregrinus. This concept of exile as peregrinatio pro amore dei also provides insight into how the Old English poet views the exodus of the Israelites. In particular, it helps explain the apparently incongruous maritime imagery used in Exodus. The Israelites are described as sæmen 'seamen' (Ex. 105b), flotan 'sailors', lit. 'floaters' (133a, 223a, 331b) and sævicingas 'sea-vikings' (333a) travelling over a flodwege 'floodway' (106a, cf. Seaf. 52a). The pillar of cloud guiding them is described as a segle 'sail' (81b, 89b) whose mæstrapas 'mast-ropes' (82a) cannot be seen. Among other things, the pillar of fire is present to protect the Israelites from the fear of holmegum wederum 'storms like those of the sea' (118b). In lines 331b and 333a the Israelites do not actually cross the Red Sea as sailors but walk along the path through the waters which God has cleared for them. All the other sea-imagery occurs when they travel across the desert. With the reference to the Egyptians as landmanna 'land-dwellers' (179b, cf. 136a) an opposition similar to that in The Seafarer is established between those who live on land and those, like the Israelites, who are sea-dwellers:

> ". . . him geliefeþ lyt, se-þe ag lifes wynn
> gebiden on burgum, bealu-siða hwon,
> wlanc and win-gal, hu ic werig oft
> on brim-lade bidan scolde."
> (Seaf. 27 - 30)

> ". . . he can little believe, he, proud and flushed with wine, who has the joys of life, dwelling in the cities, [can believe] little about such a fearful journey, how I often must live sad on the sea." (cf. Seaf. 12b - 17, 55b - 57).

The Israelites depart from Egypt and cross the desert led by God's agents, Moses and the two pillars and because they are obedient to God they make the perilous journey successfully. In actual terms, of course, the Israelites are as much land-men as the Egyptians; however the maritime imagery invites us to see that the Israelites, like the seafarer, on brim-lade bidan 'live on the sea' (Seaf. 30), but the imagery here is used figuratively. In the proem to Exodus, the poet says that for eadigra gehwam 'each of blessed ones' (4b) there is bote lifes 'the reward of life' (5b) after the bealusiðe 'baleful journey' (5a). Since this reward comes in Heaven clearly bealusiðe here acts as a metaphor for the life of mortal men in this world. At the conclusion of the Israelites' journey, the narrator says, they bote gesawon 'saw the reward' (583b) and life gefegon 'rejoiced in life' (570a). This comment perhaps means that we are to interpret their journey symbolically as signifying earthly life. Their journey has undeniably been as 'baleful' as that in The Seafarer (28b).[19]

The poet also calls the Israelites quite explicitly *wræcmon . . . eðelleasum* 'exile-men . . . without a homeland' (137b, 139a), but since their journey as exiles is described figuratively as we have seen, so too we must see their exile not only as conventional but as spiritual, undertaken for the love of God. The spiritual significance of the exile-imagery in *Exodus* is particularly clear in a passage spoken by Moses but reported by the narrator:

. . . læne dream
wommum awyrged, wreccum alyfed,
earmra anbid. Eðellease
þysne gystsele gihðum healdað
murnað on mode. (*Ex*. 532b - 36a)

> [Earthly life is] transitory joy cursed with sins, granted to exile in expectation of miseries. Without a homeland we hold this guest-hall with sorrows, with mournful minds.[20]

As we saw previously in 137b and 139a, the Israelites to whom Moses is speaking are physically exiles. Their joyous arrival on the far shore of the Red Sea represents the end of their exile, even though in terms of the biblical source they have yet to undergo forty years of wandering in the wilderness. They are home from exile in Egypt and their exodus is over; figuratively they have arrived at the City of God, having left their exile in the City of Man. As Edward Irving says, "the phrase *folc wæs on lande* ['the people were on land'](567b) seems to bring together the voyage and homecoming theme in one exultant phrase."[21] The difference in terms of *peregrinatio*/exile imagery between this poem and *The Seafarer* is that the seafarer does not actually reach his destination within the poem and is more explicit about the spiritual significance of his exile.[22]

This symbolic reading does not contradict Chapter II's claim that the poets make their themes explicit. It complements rather than contradicts the overt statements of theme in *Exodus* and the manuscript as a whole. It serves to explain otherwise incongruous imagery and does not depend upon external sources; the poet makes his symbolism clear within the text. Furthermore, the poet himself invites us to read his work symbolically when he suggests how to understand what is found *on gewritum* 'in [sacred] writings' (*Ex*. 520b) concerning *doma gehwilcne* 'each law' (521a) given to Moses by God (521b). He remarks,

> gif onlucan wile   lifes wealhstod,
> beorht in breostum,   banhuses weard,
> ginfæsten god   gastes cægon.
> Run bið gerecenod,   ræd forð gæð,
> hafað wislicu   word on fæðme.
> (*Ex*. 523 - 27)
>
> if the guardian of the bone-house [the body], the generous God, will unlock the interpreter of life, bright in the breast, with the key of the spirit [then what] is mysterious will be made clear, counsel goes forth, has wise words in its bosom.

The poet goes on to "unlock" the hidden truth about life itself, comparing it to exile (533b - 36a) and an anti-hall (532b, 535 - 38a). Applying his method to his own work, we become aware of an "encrustation of meaning" which "is deeper, more allusive and more learned" than the "clear and prominent" narrative of the literal and historical exodus.[23]

The Old English poet also sees Abraham as an exile: the *Exodus*-poet makes this clear when he comments that Abraham *on wræce lifde* 'lived in exile' (383b). In *Genesis* much exilic diction occurs in descriptions of his adventures. Abraham and his tribe travel from Babilone (1707a) to Carran (1736b), ffom Carran to Canaan; *sohton Cananea/ lond and leodgeard. . . . he faran sceolde,/ Carran ofgifan, and cneowmagas* 'they sought the land and people of Canaan . . . he had to journey, give up Carran and kinsmen (1772b - 73a, 1777b - 78). Next he journeys from Canaan to Egypt: *gewat on Egypte,. . . drohtaδ secan* 'departed into Egypt . . . seeking nourishment (1817b, 1818b). While in Egypt, *fremu secan* 'to seek benefits' (1843b), he describes himself and Sarah as *feorren cumenra* '[people] come from afar' (1836). Then he returns to Canaan (1873 - 79), but he and Lot must *rumor secan/ ellor eδelseld* 'seek a roomier foreign native-hall' (1895b - 96a) when their respective troops conflict. Later, the narrator describes Abraham's journey to Abimelech as an exile. Abraham is *freonda feasceaft* 'destitute of friends' (2700). He arrives *earda leas* 'without a home' (2706b). Abraham says he *fela . . . folca gesohte* 'many . . . peoples sought' (2698). Later Abimelech overtly describes Abraham's arrival as that of an exile: *δu feasceaft feorran come/ on pas werpeode wræccan laste* 'you came destitute from afar, into this people on the paths of exile' (2822 - 23). Even after he has accepted Abimelech's offer to let him wuniað her 'dwell here' (2735b) and thus save him from further exile (2733b - 35a), Abraham is described as living feasceaft mid fremdum 'destitute amidst the foreigners' (2837a). Once more he travels to Canaan (2837b - 39). In his mind it is the lack of a son that has made him feasceaft 'destitute' (2176b). Finally, he must wadan ofer wealdas 'journey through forests' (2887a) and ofer westen 'over wasteland' (2875a) to Mount Zion to sacrifice the son whose lack he had so long lamented. Even without the exile-related diction of travelling and seeking, Abraham's lack of a permanent home provides good evidence for viewing him as an exile.

Unlike the exile of Adam and Eve, Cain, the sinful Israelites, or Nebuchadnezzar, there is no suggestion that Abraham's exile is to be seen as an earthly counterpart of Satan's eternal exile from Heaven. Indeed, far from disobeying God and earning his enmity, Abraham is foremost among those explicitly described as acting according to his Lord's commands and being loved by him. Throughout his life Abraham is continually called upon to sacrifice what is of value to him. He gives up the sinc 'treasure' (Gen. 1725a) and sibbe 'peace' (Gen. 1725b) he enjoys at Carran, and the lands like Paradise (1750b - 52a, 1787 - 90a, 1804, 1921b - 24a) to which God directed him. He suffers from famine (1813b - 19) and endures the onslaughts of Pharaoh (1824 - 72) and Abimelech (2621 - 2716). Though from the beginning he longs only for a son to perpetuate his family, he is asked to *on wræc drife* 'drive into exile' (2792b) his eldest (if not strictly legitimate) son, Ishmael. This act causes Abraham *weorce on mode* 'pain in his mind' (2792a, cf. 2794b - 95a), but he nevertheless obeys. The language makes use of exile diction. Finally, in the test which is described the most minutely and dramatically (*Gen*. 2846 - 2936; *Ex*. 384 - 446), he is asked to sacrifice Isaac. Again he is prepared to comply. Within the framework of the exilic diction just examined, through all these adversities Abraham remains loyal and obedient to his Lord. Indeed, he continually gives offerings to God (1790b - 93a, 1805 - 10, 1882 - 89, 2120 - 23a, 2842 - 45, 2930 - 36). God in turn protects him against Pharaoh (1859b - 67a) and Abimelech (2634b - 70a; 2739 - 41), and grants him victory against the Elamites (2107 - 19).

We can see Abraham's true position in the world by reflecting on that of his kinsman Lot in Sodom; Abraham's exile is not imposed for wrong-doing. The Sodomites speak of Lot's "exile" when he loyally protects God's thanes and is willing to sacrifice his daughters in their place:

> "Þu þas werðeode   wræccan laste
> freonda feasceaft   feorran gesohtest,
> wineþearfende."   (*Gen*. 2480 - 82a)

> "You sought this people from afar, from the paths of exile, destitute of kinsmen, needing friends."

Had he come to them as an exile he would be obligated to conform to the customs of the *comitatus* which received him. But their view of Lot as an exile establishes a clear dramatic irony, since we know, as they do not, that Lot voluntarily has chosen to live among them (1927 - 28). Far from being without lord and friends, he is thane to the most powerful of all lords, the Lord himself, and has the most loyal of kinsmen, Abraham. Both come to his aid when help is required. Likewise, despite the fact that he appears an exile, Abraham in the cosmic scheme is part of the *comitatus* of God.

Though from the opposite perspective, Christ in *Christ and Satan* also clarifies Abraham's true position in the world. Like Abraham, he lives in the world of men as an exile. The narrator says, *Ferde to foldan . . . /ufan from eðle, and on eorþan gebad* '[he] Travelled down from above, to earth from his native-land, and dwelled on earth' (*C&S* 493 - 94). On earth he undergoes *tintregan fela and teonan micelne* 'many tortures and great injuries' (*C&S* 495). The *rices rædboran* 'ruler of the kingdom' (*C&S* 498a) plots against him, as the rulers Pharaoh and Abimelech do against Abraham. Abraham passes a final crucial test analogous to Christ's defeat of Satan in the wilderness (cf. *Gen.* 2875a). This testing comes at the climax of Abraham's career in both *Genesis* and *Exodus*, as it does in the Bible. The *Christ and Satan*-poet (or whoever is responsible for the ordering of the poem as we now have it) places it at the same climactic point in Christ's career by the way in which he orders his poem out of normal chronological sequence. In a similar way the quasi-exilic diction (cf. 493a, 494a) which Christ uses to describe his passage from Heaven to earth and his sufferings there correspond to the exile and suffering of Abraham in *Genesis*. The whole passage (*C&S* 468 - 512) which recounts Christ's earthly career is pervaded with the sense of loss he suffered on leaving Heaven, his *eðle* 'native-land' (*C&S* 494a). Christ's exile gives moral and spiritual significance to Abraham's exile, therefore, just as his success in resisting Satan points to Abraham's success on Zion as an archetypal model of obedience in the face of temptation.

Abraham's prominence in the Junius Manuscript[24] points implicitly to his role as a model to be imitated by the members of the audience. Pre-eminent among post-lapsarian men, Abraham fulfills the demands to praise and serve God as others fail. Even under the stresses of exile, Abraham does not waver from his devotion to his Lord. The poets make explicit statements too, however, about the moral to be taken from the story of Abraham's obedience. After the *Genesis*-poet describes the Sodomites as sinful (1933 - 37a), he emphasizes Lot's loyalty to God and his moral purity (1937b - 44). A passage follows in praise of Abraham's loyalty and obedience to God and the benefits he derives from this relationship (1945 - 53a). Having progressed from the Sodomites' depravity to Abraham's virtues the narrator comments,

> næfre hleowlora
> æt edwihtan   æfre weorðeð
> feorhberendra   forht and acol,
> mon for metode,   þe him æfter a
> þurh gemynda sped   mode and dædum,
> worde and gewitte,   wise þance,
> oð his ealdorgedal   oleccan wile.
> (*Gen*. 1953b - 59)

> Never does a man, a life-bearer, who will ever after serve him [God] with the skills of his mind, his thought and deeds, words and wit and wise thinking, until his life passes, come before the Measurer without a defense, and afraid and trembling, in any matter.

Like Lot and especially like Abraham, the poem's audience is exhorted here to serve God with all their capacities. If they do so, like Lot and Abraham, they will be rewarded and protected by their Lord. In *Exodus* the angel who stops the sacrifice of Isaac says, not only to Abraham but to the audience: *Hu þearf mannes sunu   maran treowe?* 'How do the sons of man need a greater faith?' (*Ex*. 426). This faith is the *fæste treowe* 'secure faith' (*Ex*. 423a) which Abraham displays on Zion.

The Junius Manuscript makes extensive use of exilic imagery to emphasize the single theme but in divergent ways. Used in the conventional way, it represents in Anglo-Saxon terms the ultimate punishment for disobedience to God and failure to praise him with proper thankfulness for all the glories, treasure and prosperity he has dispensed. Exile imagery in this sense is applied to Satan, Adam and Eve, Cain, the sinful Israelites at the beginning of Daniel, and Nebuchadnezzar, all of whom are guilty of such disloyalty. Along with the anti-hall imagery examined in the preceding chapter, exile imagery is used in this traditional way to emphasize the negative aspect of the prevailing theme of the Junius Manuscript: those who do not praise and serve God will suffer the miseries of the exile and anti-hall in this world as well as the next.

Exile imagery in the Junius Manuscript is also used to commend those who choose, or at least stoically accept, a life of exile for the love of God. Once Adam recognizes his sin he mitigates this sinfulness in part by his voluntary desire for a life as a *peregrinus pro amore dei*. Similarly, Nebuchadnezzar and the corrupt Israelites in *Daniel* are chastized by their experience as exiles and brought into the right relationship with God. In *Exodus*, too, exile as *peregrinatio* forms one of the major principles governing the characterization of the Israelites.

Finally, exile is presented as a trial willingly undergone by Abraham as part of the testing process by which he is being trained to be the father of Israel (cf. *Ex*. 18b, 353b - 55; *Dan*. 193 - 95). Ultimately, through the chosen people he is to be the progenitor of Christ, the Redeemer of mankind. We see Christ in action in *Christ and Satan* in a way that parallels and gives spiritual meaning to the lives depicted earlier. Portraying Abraham as a Germanic exile would make his faithfulness all the more impressive to an Anglo-Saxon audience, for even without explicit exhortation they would be encouraged to follow Abraham's example in their own less perilous but equally transitory lives. At the same time, that Abraham's exile is only temporal would serve to console a contemporary audience. He, like the audience, has a Lord in Heaven whose hall, *comitatus* and generosity in giving treasure and aid are second to none. As God helped the faithful Abraham, who praised and loyally obeyed him under all conditions, so he will surely aid men here and now. All Christian men who remain loyal to their heavenly Lord, whatever their station in *middangeard*, are exiles like Abraham from the City of God in the hall of Heaven.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

The four poems of the Junius Manuscript are unified on the basis of a common didactic theme: it is right, wise, and fruitful to praise God and serve him loyally. In the words of the introduction to *Genesis A*

> Us is riht micel   ðæt we rodera weard,
> wereda wuldorcining,   wordum herigen,
> modum lufien!   (*Gen*. 1 - 3a)

> It is very right for us that we praise in words,
> laud in our thoughts, the guardian of the skies,
> glory-king of hosts!

This theme is overtly stated in all four poems of the Junius Manuscript. Such statements take various forms. In some cases they are made by the poet speaking to the audience in his own voice. In other cases they take the form of comments from the narrator. Finally, they are voiced by characters within the poems. That explicit statements of the theme recur throughout the four poems suggests that they were perhaps originally gathered together to serve as a single poetic expression of this overall theme.

The Junius Manuscript is divided into Liber I and Liber II. The first contains the poems *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*; the second, *Christ and Satan*. Viewing the relationship between Liber I and Liber II as analogous to that between the Old and New Testaments makes clear the place of each in the whole. Liber I presents episodes from history and Liber II explicates and comments on their spiritual and moral significance. All the events of history are seen to be struggles between those who serve and obey God and those who do not. Both the relationship between Liber I and Liber II and the chronological "disorder" of Christ and Satan are explained by the manuscript's overriding didactic purpose.

The Junius Manuscript-poets make use of imagery drawn from traditional Anglo-Saxon literature to reinforce the single theme and serve the didactic purpose. Among the most prominent of such imagery is that based on the hall, the comitatus and treasure-giving. Those who serve and praise God are presented enjoying life in a hall, sharing its joys with other thanes of the Lord and receiving treasure and protection from him. Those who fail to be loyal to God are without these advantages and must wander as homeless exiles. Exile imagery is therefore used to portray those who are disloyal to God. It is also used adeptly as the epitome of earthly misfortune to show how the truly loyal do not fail their Lord despite adversity. At the same time God's aid to exiles such as Lot and Abraham provides comfort to loyal Christians in middangeard, exiled from the City of God but not deserted by their Lord. By selecting familiar poetic diction in which to couch their message, the poets are able to clarify their theme and make its implications more directly obvious and relevant to a contemporary audience.

The suggestion that the Junius Manuscript possesses unity of some sort is not new, but until very recently few extended studies had been written on this question.[1] Any complete study which argues for the essential unity of the Junius Manuscript-poems must consider carefully questions of provenance, language, and compilation in far greater detail than space has allowed in this thesis. A familiarity with Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is a necessary prerequisite for such a study. Other strands of imagery must be examined in closer detail as part of any further study of the poetic unity of the manuscript. Spatial limitations in this thesis have not permitted an analysis of the diction connected with boasting, oath-swearing and warfare, or those based on such polarities as light/dark, heat/cold, and bondage/liberation. All such imagery is conspicuous in the poems of the Junius Manuscript.

Any study emphasizing the unity of a number of separate works inevitably obscures the differences among those works. By drawing evidence for the conceptual and poetic unity of the Junius Manuscript from all the poems that comprise it, one may give the impression that each poem functions in the same way. Each displays diverse approaches and styles, however; the nature of this diversity provides room for further study. Comparatively little has been written to date on how each of these poems functions as poetry that is able to instruct us and move us. The entire question of authorial voice and the related matter of how each poet contemporizes his message has been only briefly touched upon in this thesis. How they vary from poem to poem and within individual poems requires further examination.

A modern sensibility may be displeased by poetry as unashamedly didactic as that of the Junius Manuscript, but a close study of the poetic diction of each work or portion of each will reveal the nuances which each recurrence of a word or phrase adds to their meaning. A thorough comprehension of the way in which the diction operates can contribute meaningfully to our understanding and appreciation of _Genesis_, _Exodus_, _Daniel_, and _Christ and Satan_ as the varied and splendid works they are.

Footnotes

Chapter I: Introduction

[1] See Israel Gollancz, ed., The Cædmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Poetry (Oxford, 1927), pp. xiv - xv, and B.J. Timmer, ed., The Later Genesis (London, 1948), pp. 3 - 10, for speculations on this matter. N.R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957) suggests that the manuscript is "possibly identical with the 'Genesis Anglice depicta' in the early-fourteenth century catalogue of Christ Church, Canterbury" (p. 408).

[2] More detailed descriptions and histories of the manuscript may be found in Ker, pp. 406 - 08, the standard reference on Old English MSS. See also Gollancz, pp. xiii - xlviii; G.P. Krapp, ed., The Junius Manuscript (New York, 1931), pp. x - xxiv; and Minnie Cate Morrell, A Manual of Old English Biblical Materials (Knoxville, 1965), pp. 18 - 22. The matter of the quire-count is far more complex than my brief comment indicates. For a full account, see Ker, pp. 407 - 08. The suggestions that the pagination is by Junius comes from Ker, p. 408. Ker also says that the manuscript did not actually come into the hands of the Bodleian Library until 1678 (p. 408).

[3] See Gollancz, pp. lix, lxxxiv; Krapp, pp. xxvi - xxvii; Edward B. Irving, Jr., ed., The Old English Exodus (1953; rpt. Hamdon, Conn., 1970), p. 28; and Fr. Klaeber, ed., Beowulf and the Finnsburg Fragment, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1950), p. cxiii.

[4] See Gollancz, p. cvi; and Merrell D. Clubb, ed., Christ and Satan (1925; rpt. Hamdon, Conn., 1972), p. lx.

[5] See Gollancz, p. xviii; Krapp, p. x; and Clubb, p. xii.

[6] Ker dates Liber I (Genesis, Exodus, Daniel) between 990 and 1010, and Liber II (Christ and Satan) after 1010 but before 1025 (p. 406). Gollancz says "'about 1000'" (p. xviii, cf. p. xxxiv) and Krapp concurs (p. x).

[7] Ker erroneously cites "pp. 11 - 40" (p. 406). See Gollancz' facsimile edition and p. lii of his introduction.

See also Timmer, p. 1.

[8] See Gollancz, pp. lii - liii; Krapp, p. xxvi; and Timmer, p. 43, who places its date as late as 900.

[9] Gollancz, pp. lii - lvi, gives a brief summary of this specualtion. See also Krapp, p. xxvi, and Timmer, pp. 43 - 50.

[10] The first artist illustrated pp. 1 - 68, the second pp. 73 - 88. There is, however, an unfinished illustration by neither of these artists on p. 96. See Ker, p. 207, and Francis Wormald, English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (London, 1952), p. 76, n. 50. Wormald suggests that the work of the first artist is reminiscent of that in other manuscripts "of the first half of the 10th century" whereas that of the second "appears to be a derivative" of work in MSS. from "the second half of the 10th century." The fainter lion which occupies the bottom third of page 31 and the incomplete drawing on page 96 he dates to "the second half of the 12th century." Wormald detects "Scandinavianisms . . . in some of the ornament," esp. pp. 56, 57, 65, 66, 68, 73, and in the design for the binding on p. 225. Gollancz describes each of the illustrations, pp. xxxix - xlvii. See also C.W. Kennedy, trans., The Cædmon Poems (1916; rpt. Gloucester, Mass., 1965), pp. 197 - 248, for much reduced reproductions of the MS. illustrations. These are introduced and discussed by C.R. Morey, "The Drawings of the Junius MS.," pp. 175 - 95.

[11] The style of the decorative capitals, many of which indicate "the influence of . . . Viking tastes," is discussed by T.H. Kendrick, Late Saxon and Viking Art (London, 1948), pp. 33. The Viking influence on some of the designs is discussed on pp. 104 - 05. Kendrick dates these and the decorative capitals from 1030 - 1050. See also Gollancz, pp. xviii - xx.

[12] The capital "D" on page 43 is floreate rather than zoomorphic. See Gollancz, p. xviii.

[13] The focus of the Junius Manuscript, however, is substantially different from that of the mystery cycles. The core of the latter are the magnificent Nativity - Passion plays, but in the Junius Manuscript, Christ's birth, death and resurrection are referred to only briefly, and at second-hand, towards the end of the last poem,

Christ and Satan. The material on which the first three poems are based occupies only the initial plays of the mystery cycles, or, like the events recounted in the Old English poem Daniel, are omitted from the cycles altogether. This suggests that the emphasis of the Junius Manuscript is not on the redemption of man by Christ. Rather, I believe, it is on the struggle between the forces of God and those of Satan as it takes place in history and on the importance of being on the right side in this struggle, of being loyal to the right lord. The Old English poems are as Christian and didactic as the plays, but less explicitly theological and less concerned about presenting the whole sweep of salvation-history as J.R. Hall argues in his unpublished dissertation, "The Old English Book of Salvation History," University of Notre Dame, 1973. See especially his chart on page 63.

[14] Paradise Lost, XI, 359 - 60, John Milton: Complete Poems and Selected Prose, ed. M.Y. Hughes (Indianapolis and New York, 1957).

[15] M.W. Grose and D. McKenna, Old English Literature (London, 1973), p. 80.

Chapter II: Overt Statements of Theme

[1] In Fruyt and Chaf (Princeton, 1963), a book written by Huppé and D.W. Robertson, Jr., the Augustinian conception of the nature and purpose of poetry (as the authors understand it) is set forth with great force and clarity. See especially Chapter I. De Doctrina Christiana has been translated into English as On Christian Doctrine by D.W. Robertson, Jr. (New York and Indianapolis, 1958).

[2] Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry (New York, 1959), p. 239.

[3] Huppé's analysis of Genesis A (Chapter V) remains the only readily-available full-length study of which I am aware.

[4] Huppé, pp. 132 - 33. There is no significant disagreement between the theme which I see running through the manuscript as a whole and that which Huppé concludes is the theme of Genesis:

> the need for man to praise God, so that he may regain the heaven which was lost in disobedience and so that, God willing, he may not suffer the punishments of the damned. (p. 207, cf. p. 173)

I place greater stress on what Huppé refers to as a "structural emphasis on the themes of damnation and salvation" (p. 169), and see man's duty to be loyal and obedient to God as being as important a part of the theme as the duty to praise. Our disagreement is on how this theme is to be detected. Huppé resorts to outside commentaries on the relevant portions of scripture; I believe the theme is explicitly stated in the poems themselves.

[5] Huppé, pp. 217 - 18; my emphasis.

[6] Huppé, p. 224.

[7] Huppé, p. 231.

[8] All references to the text of Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and Christ and Satan (abbreviated as Gen., Ex.,

Dan., and *C&S*, respectively) are from G.P. Krapp, ed., *The Junius Manuscript* (New York, 1931). Citations from other Old English poems are from C.L. Wrenn, ed., *Beowulf* (London, 1973), and John C. Pope, ed., *Seven Old English Poems* (Indianapolis & New York, 1966). All accent marks and indications of vowel length have been silently omitted from passages drawn from these two sources, both for the sake of convenience and to conform with Krapp's practice in his edition of our primary works. All references are to line and half-line.

[9] Huppé, p. 175.

[10] For discussion of the beasts of battle (raven, eagle, wolf) motif in Old English poetry see F.P. Magoun, Jr., "The Theme of the Beasts of Battle in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," *NM*, 56 (1955), 81 - 90; and Adrien Bonjour, "*Beowulf* and the Beasts of Battle," *PMLA*, 72 (1957), 563 - 73.

[11] Philip Rollinson, "Some Kinds of Meaning in Old English Poetry," *Annuale Mediævale*, 11 (1970), 5 - 21, and Alvin A. Lee, *The Guest-Hall of Eden* (New Haven, 1972), pp. 230 - 31, criticize Huppé's critical approach to Old English poetry. S.B. Greenfield, *A Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York, 1965), pp. 148 - 50, and Bennett A. Brockman, "'Heroic' and 'Christian' in *Genesis A*: The Evidence of the Cain and Abel Episode," *MLQ*, 35 (1974), 115 - 28, criticize certain of Huppé's specific readings of episodes in *Genesis A*.

[12] In their song the Three Youths recognize (362 - 916) the way in which all Nature praises God: *(ge)bletsige*, 326a, 380b, 389b; *wurðiað*, 366b, 385b; *herigað*, 370a, 374a, 376a, 386a, 392a; *lofigað*, 372b, 379a, 395a; *domige*, 371b; *lufiað*, 390b. Not only do they recognize it but they themselves, in the midst of adversity, join in the praise (397 - 409).

[13] Their return is described in part in *Exodus*, which immediately precedes these initial lines of *Daniel*.

[14] *Daniel* deals with the *consequences* to the Hebrews of choosing *deofles cræft* 'skills of the devil' (32b) over loyalty to God. *Genesis B* concentrates on *how* this process comes about. See Rosemary Woolf, "The Fall of Man in *Genesis B* and The *Mystère d'Adam*," in *Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G. Brodeur*, S.B. Greenfield,

ed., (Eugene, Ore., 1963), p. 187.

[15] Cf. Grendel, in *Bwf*. 1351b, 2228b.

[16] Abraham is called "God's beloved" in *Gen*. 1773b, 2738b, 2862b, cf. 1749a, 2306a, 2398b, 2589a, 2763a, 2914a. See also *Ex*. 354a, 355b.

[17] In *Exodus*, lines 120 - 24, it is said that the fiery pillar which led and protected the Israelites, threatened them with destruction *nymðe hie modhwate Moyses hyrde* 'except if they boldly obeyed Moses" (124). Obeying Moses becomes shorthand for obeying God, in whose service both Moses (30 - 31, 550b) and the fiery pillar (95 - 96) are. Likewise in *Genesis* 1754 - 58, obedience to Abraham is rewarded as if it is obedience directly to God.

[18] This is strengthened by the assonance of *hyrde*/*hyrað* as well as by the fact that *Hyrde* 'guardian' has the same form as the preterite of *hyran*, i.e. *hyrde* 'obeyed', which occurs, for example, at *Gen*. 1493b, 2804a, and *Ex*. 124b, 410a.

[19] Cf. *Dan*. 174b and *Gen*. 1677a.

[20] The drunkenness referred to by *wingedrync* (2581b) as one of the sins of the citizens of Sodom and Gomorrah (cf. *Gen*. 2410a) is consistent with what seems to be a general association of excessive drinking with disobedience to God and serious negative consequences. The Sodomites, for example, are destroyed. Noah's drunkenness (*Gen*. 1562 - 65a) leads to Ham's sin of disobedience and disrespect. Lot's daughters sleep with him while he is drunk (*Gen*. 2600 - 06) and the Moabites and Ammonites, traditional enemies of Israel, are the result of the incestuous union. Abimelech is described as *wine druncen* 'drunk with wine' (2635b) and *symbelwerig* (*Gen*. 2641b) in order, presumably, to blacken his character. The biblical source (*Gen*. 20) makes no mention of Abimelech acting under the influence. And Abimelech and his people are punished with sterility because of his sin against God. It is the *druncne geðohtas* 'drunken thoughts' (*Dan*. 18b) which overcome them at *winþege* 'wine-taking' (*Dan*. 17b) that lead the Israelites astray and into the hands of their enemies (cf. *Dan*. 749 - 52a). Nebuchadnezzar is described as *wingal* 'flushed with wine' (*Dan*. 116b) at one point, and Belshazzar grows *medugal* 'flushed with mead' (*Dan*. 702a) *æt wine* 'at the wine-drinking' (*Dan*. 695a). Shortly thereafter he boasts

foolishly against God and is given over to his enemies.

In *Beowulf* this association also exists, albeit in more secular terms. Drunkenness there is a prelude to the attacks by Grendel (117 - 19a, 480 - 87a) and his mother (1231 - 35) and, according to Beowulf, Unferth's flyting of him (530 - 32, cf. 1466 - 67). It is specifically mentioned as a virtue in Beowulf that he did *not* slay his closest companions while drunk (2179b - 80a).

[21] We note as well that it is *waldend usser* 'our ruler' (2587a) who rewards Abraham. The use of the first person plural of the personal pronoun emphasizes that the same Ruler who punished Sodom and Gomorrah and rewarded Abraham, also punishes and rewards *us*.

Also the use of the present tense of the verb, "to do," viz. *deð*, in the comments on the punishment of Lucifer (*Gen*. 297b) and Nebuchadnezzar (*Dan*. 493b) makes it plain that God *does* even now what he did in ages past to those who disobey and rebel against him.

[22] Cf. *C&S* 626b.

[23] Just as *endedæg* 'end-day' (*Dan*. 678b) and *siðestan dæge* 'last day' (*Dan*. 700b), with reference to Belshazzar's Feast, suggests the Day of Judgment itself as well as the last day of the Chaldean empire.

[24] *Structural Principles in Old English Poetry* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1968), p. 137. R.E. Finnegan in "*Christ and Satan*: Structure and Theme," *Classica et Mediævalia*, 30 (1974), 490, calls such passages "hortatory - homiletic exhortations."

[25] Cf. *C&S* 362b - 64a, 593b - 95a.

[26] Cf. *Gen*. 2864b - 65.

[27] Like Daniel himself, *Dan*. 150b, 735b; cf. *Gen*. 1734a, 1818a.

[28] It is also worthy of note that just as Nature praises and celebrates God (see Note #12), so it and the primeval Chaos from which it was formed obeys him. See *Gen*. 121b - 25, 157b - 63a, as well as *Gen*. 205, where power to command Nature is delegated to Adam and Eve. To be disobedient to God is to go, quite literally, counter to Nature and thus to be fundamentally perverse in contrast to the

order of the universe.

[29] He is however unable to do anything else but obey when directly ordered by God. See *Gen*. 345b - 49a; *C&S* 719 - 21.

[30] Cf. *C&S* 22 - 24a, 56b - 57a, 123 - 24.

[31] The most famous offspring of these forbidden unions are Grendel and his mother. See *Beowulf* 107a, 1261b.

[32] Cf. Grendel, *Bwf*. 786b, 1682b.

[33] This theme is present in the Bible, from which the subject matter of these poems is drawn. For particularly clear and strong statements of it see Leviticus, Chapter 26, and Deuteronomy, Chapter 28.

In the *Ecclesiastical History*, E.E.T.S., #95 (London, 1890), p. 52, Bede interprets British history in light of the same principle. For example, he explains the ravages which the newly arrived Angles and Saxons inflicted on their Briton hosts, as the *rihte Godes dome* 'just judgment of God' on the latter, not

> ungelic wræcc þam ðe iú Chaldeas bærndon
> Hierusaleme weallas 7 ða cynelican
> getimbro mid fyre fornaman for ðæs Godes
> folces synnum (I, 15)
>
> unlike the earlier punishment in which the Chaldeans burned the walls of Jerusalem and destroyed the royal palace with fire because of the sins of God's people.

See also *Eccles. Hist.* I, 14; II, 5, 9, 16; III, 1, 7, 16, 22; IV, 13, 25, 26, 31; V, 11.

Chapter III: Theme and Structure

[1] Jerome Taylor, "The Dramatic Structure of the Middle English Corpus Christi, or Cycle, Plays", *Literature and Society*, ed. Bernice Slote (Lincoln, Neb., 1964), p. 184, sees a similar separation "of mankind into basically two strains" in the medieval mystery cycles:

> . . . the seed of Cain, prolonged in the wicked rulers of men (Pharaoh, Herod, Caesar, Pilate, Caiaphas and their minions), and the friends and instruments of God, represented by Abel, Noah, Abraham, the prophets, the Magi, Mary, and climactically Christ.

As we are suggesting is the case with the Junius Manuscript, Taylor says that "the conflict between these two groups provides the substance of the complication" in the mystery plays.

[2] Martin Stevens, "The Theatre of the World: A Study in Medieval Dramatic Form", *Chaucer Review*, 7 (1973), 237.

[3] "The Changing Ideas of Time and the Timeless in English Morality Plays", *Studies in English Literature* (The English Literary Society of Japan), 46 (1969), 17.

[4] No individual English edition of *Genesis A* has yet been published, but an edition has been prepared as an unpublished dissertation by David M. Wells: "A Critical Edition of the Old English *Genesis A* with a Translation," University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1969.

Genesis B has been edited separately by B.J. Timmer as *The Later Genesis* (Oxford, 1948). See also John F. Vickrey, Jr., ed., "*Genesis B*: A New Analysis and Edition," Diss., Indiana, 1960.

The most recent edition of *Exodus* is that of Edward B. Irving, Jr., *The Old English Exodus* (New Haven, 1953; rpt. Hamdon, Conn., 1970). It was edited earlier, together with *Daniel*, by Francis A. Blackburn, *Exodus and Daniel* (Boston, 1907), and Theodore W. Hunt, *Cædmon's Exodus and Daniel* (Boston, 1883).

Robert T. Farrell is the latest (London, 1974) editor of *Daniel* (with the Exeter Book *Azarias*), for Methuen's Old English Library series. See also F.C. Brennan, ed., "The Old English *Daniel*, Edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossary," Diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel

Hill, 1966.

Christ and Satan was edited separately by Merrell D. Clubb, (New Haven, 1925; rpt. Hamdon, Conn., 1972).

[5] Genesis begins at the top of MS. page 1, Exodus at the top of page 143, Daniel on page 173, and Christ and Satan on page 213. All references to the manuscript on textual matters are to I. Gollancz, ed., The Cædmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry (Oxford, 1927).

[6] To be succeeded by two more, on pp. 216 and 229, respectively.

[7] Compare, for example the capitals on pp. 65, 67, 71, 73, 79, etc. to the "H" on page 143, and those on pp. 75, 83, 90, 92, 156, 160, 166, etc. with the capital "G" on page 173. The absence of large, decorative capitals between pp. 79 and 143 suggests, perhaps, that something new begins on the latter page.

[8] Blackburn, p. xxii, and C.W. Kennedy, ed. and trans., The Cædmon Poems (1916; rpt. Gloucester, Mass., 1965), p. xi, both speak of Liber I as containing but one poem.

[9] Clubb, p. xii. See also Gollancz, p. xcviii, and Krapp, pp. xi - xii, who are essentially in agreement with Clubb's position on this point.

[10] Clubb, p. xv. But see Gollancz, p. xxix, who disagrees with Clubb's conclusions.

[11] Most of my remarks regarding the poetic structure of Liber II (Christ and Satan) reflect my indebtedness to Robert Emmet Finnegan, "Christ and Satan: Theme and Structure," Classica et Mediaevalia, 30 (1974), 490 - 551.

[12] The City of God, trans. Henry Bettenson, ed. David Knowles (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1972), xvi, 26.

[13] Finnegan, p. 541.

[14] See also C&S 22 - 24a, 56b - 57a, and 123 - 24, for statements of Lucifer's rebellion against God.

[15] M. James Young, "The Unity of the English Mystery Cycles," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 58 (1972), 329. Young is speaking specifically about the beginnings of each of the mystery cycles, but his description is quite appropriate to the Heaven in *Genesis*, the loss of which is mourned in *Christ and Satan*.

[16] But in an ironically different context. In recalling his words to the angels as he convinced them to join his rebellion, Satan says that he called God's claim to absolute power an *idel gylp*. Of course, the position of Satan and his cohorts as he recalls this puts the lie to that claim -- it is, in fact, Satan who is guilty of idle and empty boasting.

[17] *ofermod*, 262b, 293b, 332a, 337a, 338a, 351a; *oferhygd*, 328a.

[18] Finnegan, p. 541. The Crucifixion is referred to by Christ in his account of his earthly career to those he has rescued from Hell (499 - 500, 507b - 09a), and by the narrator (547 - 48).

[19] Peter Stuart Macauley, "The Play of the Harrowing of Hell as a Climax in the English Mystery Cycles," *Studia Germanica Gandensia*, 8 (1966), has a good, brief account of the origins and history of the Harrowing of Hell legend on pp. 119 - 21. See also W. H. Hulme, "The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus," *PMLA*, 13 (1898), 457 - 541, and *MP*, 1 (1903 - 04), 579 - 614.

[20] These quotations are from Macauley, pp. 123, 133, 125 and 134 respectively.

[21] Stevens, p. 247.

[22] "Scriptural Poetry," in *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. E. G. Stanley (London, 1966), pp. 6, 34. But see Finnegan, p. 551, and Neil D. Isaacs, *Structural Principles in Old English Poetry* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1968), p. 128, who see Satan's Temptation of Christ as the climax of *Christ and Satan*.

[23] Krapp, p. 192, n. 2522, suggests the influence of the noun *sigor* 'victory' on this particular spelling of the town's name.

[24] Similar formulaic expressions to do with moving up to Heaven are common in *Christ and Satan*, cf. *up to englum* 'up to the angels' (287a, 623a), *up to [on] earðe* 'up to [in] the homeland' (229a, 456a, 504a), *up on heofonum* 'up in Heaven' (562a). The saints in Hell are said to *up faran* 'journey up' (405a, 441a) and to be led, by Christ, *up heonan* 'up from here [Hell]' (395b, 422b) to the bliss of Heaven *up þanon* 'up to there' (326b, 633a).

[25] Perhaps in these lines (see also lines 77b - 78a) we might see a suggestion of the fires of Hell against which God's chosen ones are protected metaphorically in *Daniel* and *Genesis* and literally in the Harrowing of Hell.

[26] Cf. Grendel who also comes *neosian*, 'to visit' the drunken warriors at Heorot (*Bwf*. 115). The *feðe-gestum* 'warriors' (*Bwf*. 1976a) for whom room is made in Hygelac's hall are Beowulf and his retainers. See also *Elene*, 844b.

[27] Cf. the description of Adam and Eve as *handweorc godes* 'the handiwork of God' (*Gen*. 702b). Similar formulaic phrases are used elsewhere of Adam and Eve (*Gen*. 241b, 494a, 628a, 822b) and fallen humanity as a whole (*C&S* 487b). The earth itself, which we have elsewhere seen described as praising and obeying God, is the only other "non-human object" to which a formula of this type (*geweorc godes* 'God's work') is applied in the Junius Manuscript (*Gen*. 604b).

[28] Their situation seems so desperate that even the usually infallible beasts of battle have decided, erroneously as it turns out, that it is the Israelites who will be their food (162 - 67). M. Bentinck Smith, "Old English Christian Poetry," *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge, 1908), p. 48, calls the theme of the Noah-Abraham episode "not entirely relevant". E.E. Wardale, *Chapters on Old English Literature* (London, 1935), p. 130, calls it a mere "interruption". And even S.B. Greenfield, *A Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York, 1967), p. 154, considers it "a questionable flashback".

[29] I accept the MS. reading against Krapp's reading *Heofung* 'lamentation,' which was first suggested by Blackburn. See Krapp, p. 199, n. 46, and Irving, pp. 69 - 70. *Heofon* could serve as a metonymy for Christ.

[30] "A Reading of the OE *Exodus*," *RES*, n.s., 20 (1969), 404, n. 3; 417.

[31] "Two Notes on the Later Genesis," in The Anglo-Saxons, ed. Peter Clemoes (London, 1959), p. 206.

[32] Jean Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality, trans. Dom Wulstan Hibberd (London, 1960), p. 184. Geoffrey Shepherd (p. 31) points out that in the baptismal liturgy "The Red Sea was hell itself and its crossing was a figure for the descent of Christ in death to harrow hell." James W. Bright, "The Relation of the Cædmonian Exodus to the Liturgy," MLN, 27 (1912), 97 - 103, was the first to suggest the relationship between the matter of the OE Exodus and the lections for Holy Saturday, when new converts were baptized. See also J.E. Cross and S. Tucker, "Allegorical Tradition and the Old English Exodus," Neophil., 44 (1960), 122 - 27. O.B. Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages (Baltimore, 1965), p. 139, and V.A. Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (Stanford, 1966), p. 85, also refer to the typological link traditionally seen between the Exodus and the Harrowing.

[33] His power is revealed in the fear he inspires in the hosts of Hell and the ease with which he defeats Satan. His mercy and compassion are most apparent in his response to Eve's pleas and in the fact of his Incarnation and Crucifixion.

[34] Cf. Piers Plowman, B. XVI, ll. 173 - 76.

[35] pp. 548 - 49.

[36] Note that the Metod 'Measurer [Christ]' commands Satan ametan 'to measure' (699b, 702a, 705b, 709b, 712b, 722b) out Hell in return for acting in hubris (ofer monna gemet 'beyond what is proper for men') by tempting and grappling with him.

[37] "A Rearrangement of Christ and Satan," MLN, 43 (1928), 108 - 10.

[38] Kolve, p. 108.

[39] Kolve, p. 103, see also p. 27. According to Bede's Ecclesiastical History, IV, 24, E.E.T.S. #95 (London, 1890), p. 346, Cædmon, the apocryphal author of these poems, had as his poetic aim something very similar:

> he geornlice gemde, þæt he men atuge

> from synna lufan 7 mandæda, 7 to
> lufan 7 to geornfulnesse awehte goda
> dæda.

he earnestly strove so that he might draw men from the love of sins and criminal deeds, and to awaken love and eagerness for deeds of goodness.

[40] Finnegan, p. 550.

[41] See Krapp, p. xix:

> structure in its larger aspects
> was never a strong point with
> Anglo-Saxon poets,

and Clubb, p. lvi:

> Old English poets have never been
> commended especially for their
> constructive ability.

[42] J.R.R. Tolkien, "Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics," in The Beowulf Poet, ed. D.K. Fry (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), p. 17.

[43] For a similar approach to the relationship between Liber I and Liber II, see Shepherd, pp. 33 - 34.

Chapter IV: Imagery of Hall, Troop and Treasure

[1] See R.I. Page, Life in Anglo-Saxon England (London, 1970):

> . . . a group of buildings incorporating some element of defence, and a great hall, rectangular or nearly so and of timber, multi-purpose, lit and heated by a fire placed somewhere along the main axis. (p. 144)

See also the artist's conception, based on archaelogical evidence, of an Anglo-Saxon settlement on p. 140, and in R.H. Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, (Oxford, 1952), I, 219, fig. 35.

[2] In an article to which I shall often refer ("The Concept of the Hall in Old English Poetry", ASE, 3 (1974), 63 - 74), Kathryn Hume makes essentially the same point:

> the hall was pictured, for poetic purposes, as a circle of light and peace enclosed by darkness, discomfort and danger. (p. 64)

For a brief discussion of the medieval belief in a world-encircling river or sea, see Thomas D. Hill, "Apocryphal Cosmography and the 'Stream uton Sæ': A Note on Christ and Satan, Lines 4 - 12," PQ, 48 (1969), 550 - 54.

[3] See Mircea Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, trans. Rosemary Sheed, (New York, 1963):

> . . . every town, every dwelling [in the world-view of "primitive" mythology] stands at the "centre of the world."
>
> Every dwelling, by the paradox of the consecration of space and by the rite of its construction, is transformed into a "centre". Thus, all houses -- like all temples, palaces and cities -- stand in the selfsame place, the centre of the universe. (p. 379)

[4] See Hume, p. 64:

> The royal hall at Cheddar was 78 feet long, and at Old Yeavering . . . traces of four successive great halls have been

> found, one of them 80 feet long and 50 wide. The Thetford great hall was a staggering 110 feet in length.

See also Page, pp. 140 - 41. For a description of hall interiors, see Hodgkin, I, 218 - 20., and P.H. Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, (Cambridge, 1956), p. 208. In Hodgkin, I, plate 33 (between pp. 220 - 21) is a photograph of a present-day barn built in a fashion similar to that of an Anglo-Saxon hall. Hodgkin includes it to give an idea of the spacious interior and lofty ceiling of such a hall.

[5] See Tacitus, *Dialogus, Agricola, Germania*, trans. W. Peterson (New York, 1914), p. 283:

> In the retinue [*comitatus*] itself degrees are observed, depending on the judgment of him whom they follow: there is great rivalry among the retainers to decide who shall have the first place with his chief, and among the chieftains as to who shall have the largest and keenest retinue. This means rank and strength, to be surrounded always with a large band of chosen youths -- glory in peace, in war protection: nor is it only so with his own people but with neighbouring states also it means name and fame for a man that his retinue [*comitatus*] be conspicuous for number and character.

[6] See Hodgkin, I, 208 - 10 and Blair, p. 211. See also F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 1947), pp. 298 - 99, and Dorothy Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974), pp. 29 - 38.

[7] Alvin A. Lee, *The Guest-Hall of Eden* (New Haven and London, 1972), p. 12. Hodgkin, I, 211, speaks of the bond between lord and retainer as "a devotion that . . . was almost a religion."

The intense and personal nature of the lord/thane relationship is attested to in the corpus of Old English poetry by the Exeter Book poem traditionally titled *The Wife's Lament*. Rudolph C. Bambas, in "Another View of the Old English *Wife's Lament*," *Old English Literature*, ed. M. Stevens, and J. Mandel (Lincoln, Nebr., 1968), pp. 229 - 36, and Martin Stevens, in "The Narrator of *The Wife's Lament*," *NM*, 69 (1968), 72 - 90, both argue convincingly that this poem is the lament of a thane for his lord, not of a wife for her husband. The terms of endearment used by the speaker in this poem are, for a modern sensibility, only acceptably used between lovers or spouses.

[8] Hume, p. 65. Hume cites Bwf. 1020 - 49 and 20 - 4a as examples, respectively, of treasure being given as a reward and as insurance of future loyalty.

[9] Thus Heremod, the epitome of a poor lord in Beowulf, nallas beagas geaf/ Denum æfter dome 'not at all gave rings to the Danes for the sake of glory' (1719b - 20a). His stinginess is among those qualities which make him a bad king. The blood-thirsty violence which he displays against his own followers (904b - 06, 1718b - 19a) shows that he is no better as a protector of his men than he is as a giver of gifts. See L.L. Schücking, "The Ideal of Kingship in Beowulf," in An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism, ed. L.E. Nicholson (Notre Dame, Ind., 1963), pp. 35 - 49.

[10] Michael D. Cherniss, Ingeld and Christ (The Hague and Paris, 1972), pp. 81, 100 - 02.

[11] Whitelock, pp. 31 and 36. The Germanic conception of vengeance is thoroughly discussed by Cherniss, pp. 60 - 78.

[12] Cherniss, p. 102.

[13] Cherniss, p. 102.

[14] Hume, p. 69.

[15] Lee, p. 103.

[16] Edward B. Irving, Jr., "Image and Meaning in the Elegies," in Old English Poetry, ed. Robert Creed (Providence, 1967), p. 157. Exile occurs as a metaphor in this way in The Wanderer.

[17] p. 24.

[18] The Anglo-Saxon concept of the world as a great hall is explicit in the following anecdote from Bede's Ecclesiastical History, II, 13, E.E.T.S. 95 (London, 1890), pp. 134 - 136. A thane tells Edwin of Northumbria,

> þis andwearde lif manna on eorðan to wiðmetenesse
> þære tide, þe us uncuð is, swylc swa þu at swæs-

> endum sitte mid þinum ealdormannum 7 þegnum on wintertide, 7 sie fýr onæled 7 þin heall gewyrmed, 7 hit rine 7 sniwe 7 styrme ute; cume spearwa 7 hræðlice þæt hus þurhfleo, cume þurh oþre duru in, þurh oþre ut gewite. Hwæt he on þa tid, þe he inne bið, ne bið hrinen mid þy storme þæs wintres; ac þæt bið an eagan bryhtm 7 þæt læste fæc, ac he sona of wintra on þone winter eft cymeð. Swa þonne þis monna lif to medmiclum fæce atyweð; hwæt þær foregange, oððe hwæt þær æfterfylige, we ne cunnen.

> this present life of man on earth, in comparison with that time which is not known to us [seems to me] as if you sat at table with your elders and thanes in winter, and the fire was kindled and your hall warmed and it rains and snows and storms outside [and] a sparrow came and quickly flew through that house, coming in through one door and departing out the other. Now he, during that time that he is inside, is not attacked by the storm of the winter, but that [time] is only the twinkling of an eye and but a moment of time, and he straightway goes from winter back again into winter. Likewise this life of man appears briefly for a short period of time; what precedes it or what follows it we do not know.

[19] Lee, p. 13.

[20] See Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, trans. Willard Trask (Princeton, 1974):

> the world in which the presence and the work of man are felt -- the mountains that he climbs, populated and cultivated regions, navigable rivers, cities, sanctuaries -- all these have [in the "primitive" world-view] an extraterrestial archetype, be it conceived as a plan, as a form, or purely and simply as a "double" existing on a higher cosmic level. (p. 9)

The argument in this thesis, with regard to Old English poetry and that of the Junius Manuscript in particular, is that earth and Hell are conceived as copies of the "extraterrestial archetype" (Heaven), although the particulars of the imagery used to express this idea are drawn from daily life -- which was itself seen as a more or less imperfect reflection of a perfect "form" or "plan" which exists in Heaven and existed on earth before the Fall, before time.

[21] Lee, p. 23.

[22] The *fyrenan hrofe* 'fiery roof' (*Dan*. 238b) of the Chaldean furnace has thus an obvious architectural affinity with Hell. This is in keeping with Nebuchadnezzar's role as a demonic inversion of God, a type of Satan.

[23] Hell is also described as *hat* 'hot' (*Gen*. 324a, 331a, 354b, 362a, 439a, 754a; *C&S* 158a, 192a, 280a, 318a, 417a, 454a, 483b). This is not simple logical inconsistency, however; it reinforces the picture of Hell's total negativity because its inhabitants suffer not only excruciating and unexpected cold but also the extreme and unpleasant heat normally found in the midst of flames.

Thomas D. Hill, in "The Tropological Context of Heat and Cold Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," *NM*, 69 (1968), 522 - 32, suggests that such imagery has allegorical implications in Old English poetry: "heat and cold can express moral significance -- the fiery hot love of perfect charity, and the icy cold of unrepentant sinfulness" (p. 523). He cites in support of his thesis Jeremiah 6:7, Ecclesiasticus 3:15, Matthew 24:12, and the writings of Gregory the Great. He further contends that Hell in Old English poems such as *Solomon and Saturn* and *Judgment Day I* "is murderously cold and fixed in winter because the warmth of charity is wholly absent there" (p. 530).

In view of the references to Hell's heat which we have noted, Mr. Hill's thesis, whether or not it can be substantiated from the poems to which he refers, is clearly untenable with regard to *Genesis* and *Christ and Satan*. There is no consistent identification of Hell with either cold or heat alone in these poems. Rather the concern of the poets seems to be to make Hell as physically unpleasant as possible. To this end, *both* extreme heat *and* cold are attributed to Hell, thereby making it twice as bad as it would be if it were only one or the other. Likewise, we would hardly identify the extreme heat of Nebuchadnezzar's furnace with "the fiery hot love of perfect charity."

[24] The last two read *win-sele* in the MS. but were emended by both Clubb and Krapp to read *wind-sele* 'wind-hall'. Clubb suggests the possibility of retaining *win-sele* 'wine-hall' (cf. *Bwf*. 695a, 771b, 2456a), a place of conviviality, with an ironic reading. See also R.E. Finnegan, "Two Notes on MS Junius *Christ and Satan*, lines 19 - 20, lines 319 and 384," *PQ*, 49 (1970), 559 - 61. In any case, that the *sele* 'hall' is windy is clear from 135b.

[25] Hume, p. 68.

[26] Hume, p. 67. When we read that in Egypt, after the Final Plague, *wop wæs wide, worulddreama lyt* 'lamentation was widespread, world-joys few' (*Ex*. 42, cf. 35b - 36a), we are invited to see Egypt as an anti-hall along the lines of Hell. This fits well with the typological similarity between Egypt (in the Exodus) and Hell (in the Harrowing), and earlier discussion of lines 45b - 48 and 570 - 71a.

Lines 200 - 02 function in a similar fashion:

> Forþon wæs in wicum   wop up ahafen,
> atol æfenleoð,   egesan stodon,
> . . .   þa se woma cwom.
>
> Therefore lamentation, an evil evensong, was raised high in the camp, terror arose, . . . when the tumult came.

These lines appear to identify the position of the Israelites with that of the devils in Hell as Christ arrives for the Harrowing (cf. *C&S* 378b - 80a, 383 - 84). The deflation of the expectation which this establishes (assisted by the beasts of battle who gather around the wrong troop, 162 - 67) is central to the dramatic effect of *Exodus*, which in turn emphasizes the miraculous nature of the Redemption of Israel.

[27] Lee, p. 23.

[28] Alan K. Brown, "Neorxnawang," *NM*, 74 (1973), suggests that the problematic word *neorxnawang* could mean 'green meadow.' "The first element could represent a highly artificial coinage out of OE *groene* . . . by reverse spelling and . . . the *gyfu* rune X" (p. 610). If this is the case, it is possible to see in all the references to "green fields or meadows" (*Gen*. 511, 1137, 1657 - 58) at least "an implicit reference to Paradise" (pp. 619 - 20), the normal gloss for *neorxnawang*.

Compare, for example, the description of the lands by the Jordan in *Genesis* 1921b - 24a, with that of Paradise in *The Phoenix* 62b - 65a:

> þær lagustreamas,
> wundrum wrætlice,   wyllan onspringað
> fægrum flodwylmum.   Foldan leccaþ
> wæter wynsumu
>
> there lake-streams, wondrously splendid, fair flood-whelms [of water] spring from wells. Beautiful waters irrigate the earth.

[29] The walls which are set up in the Red Sea to allow the passage of the Israelites are described as if they are the walls of a protecting hall:

> ". . . nu se agend   up arærde
> reade streamas   in randgebeorh.
> Syndon þa foreweallas   fægre gestepte,
> wrætlicu wægfaru,   oð wolcna hrof."
> (*Ex*. 295 - 98)

> ". . . now the owner [of the world, God] raised up the red streams in a shield-fortress. The fore-walls were well raised, an adorned way-passage, [up] to the roof of peoples."

See also lines 571b - 72: *ðe hie hit frecne geneðdon,/ weras under wætera hrofas. Gesawon hie þær weallas standan* 'they had bravely ventured it, the men under the watery roofs. They saw walls standing there [holding back the water].' Note particularly the resemblance of *wolcna hrofes* 'roof of clouds' to the formulaic expressions which are used elsewhere of the sky, cf. *Gen*. 153b, 956a; *Cædmon's Hymn*, 6a.

Along the same lines, note also how the ark which protects Noah and his family is described as a hall: *sundreced* 'sea-hall' (*Gen*. 1335b, cf. *Bwf*. 68a), *geofonhusa mæst* 'greatest ocean-house' (*Gen*. 1321a), *merehus* 'sea-house' (1364a), *hof seleste* 'best of halls (*Gen*. 1393b, cf. *Bwf*. 146a, 285b), *holmærna mæst* 'greatest of sea-halls' (*Gen*. 1422b, cf. *Bwf*. 78a), *hean hofe* 'high hall' (*Gen*. 1489a), and just plain *hof* 'hall' (*Gen*. 1316b, 1401a) and *hus* 'house' (*Gen*. 1442b). It is furthermore a hall containing *maðmhorda mæst* 'greatest of treasure hoards' (*Ex*. 368a).

[30] Jeffrey Helterman, *Beowulf*: the Archetype enters History," *ELH*, 35 (1968), 6.

[31] Hume, p. 64.

[32] See James L. Baird, "Grendel the Exile," *NM*, 67 (1966), 375 - 81.

[33] See, for example, *Bwf*. 1724b - 27.

[34] *under heahrodore* 'under the high-skies' (*Gen*. 151a) suggests the high ceiling of an Anglo-Saxon hall under which treasure was dispensed, particularly so if we keep in mind the kenning (*folca hrofes*, 'roof of peoples') already discussed.

[35] Among Lucifer's boasts is one that he, not God, is swegles brytan 'ruler of the skies' (C&S 23b, 123b). Brytta, a noun meaning ruler, comes from the verb bryttian 'to distribute.' To call a ruler a brytta 'distributor' is therefore an instance of metonymy in that a ruler receives his descriptive epithet from one of his most important functions, the distribution of treasure to his followers.

[36] The meaning of this line has been the subject of much scholarly controversy, but some such meaning as this seems acceptable. See Bright, MLN, 18 (1903), 129 - 31; Clubb, pp. 50 - 51; Krapp, p. 232; and Finnegan, PQ, 49 (1970), 558 - 59.

[37] In C&S 450b - 54, the evil torments of Hell are described ironically as æhte 'possessions,' normally a positive word used to describe material wealth (Gen. 1767b, 1873b, 1894a, etc.; Ex. 11b; Dan. 34b, 43b, 67a, etc.). Here they are possessions sealde 'granted' (451b) to Satan by God as a gift or reward entirely the reverse of what Satan hoped and longed for.

[38] These may be seen as the positive counterparts of the curses given by God to Adam, Eve, the serpent, Cain, Ham, etc. See Chapter II.

[39] With similar irony, Satan (C&S 159b) and Grendel (Bwf. 750b) are each termed firena hyrde 'guardian of sins' rather than, for example, sinces hyrde 'guardian of treasure,' as Melchizedech, a priest of God, is called in Gen. 2101b, or rices hyrde 'guardian of the kingdom,' which is applied to Moses in Ex. 256b.

Chapter V: Imagery of Exile

[1] Michael D. Cherniss, Ingeld and Christ (The Hague and Paris, 1972), p. 108.

[2] Cherniss, p. 100.

[3] This phrase is Cherniss' subtitle to his chapter on exile, (p. 103).

[4] Edward B. Irving, Jr., "Image and Meaning in the Elegies," in Old English Poetry, ed. Robert Creed (Providence, R.I., 1967), p. 157. See the preceding chapter for the social foundations of the metaphor of exile.

[5] The concept of exile in relation to Old English poetry is discussed thoroughly in Cherniss, Chp. V, pp. 103 - 19. See also S.B. Greenfield, "The Theme of Spiritual Exile in Christ I," PQ, 32 (1953), 321 - 28; Leonard H. Frey, "Exile and Elegy in Anglo-Saxon Christian Poetry," JEGP, 62 (1963), 293 - 302; and Frank Bessai, "Comitatus and Exile in Old English Poetry," Culture, 25 (1964), 130 - 44. Perhaps the single most important study of this subject is S.B. Greenfield, "The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of Exile in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," Speculum, 30 (1955), 200 - 06; rpt. in Essential Articles: Old English Poetry, ed. J.B. Bessinger and S.J. Kahrl (Hamdon, Conn., 1968), pp. 352 - 62.

[6] The City of God, trans. Henry Bettenson, ed. David Knowles (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1972), xiv, 28, p. 593.

[7] The City of God, XV, 1, p. 596.

[8] See also the Ecclesiastical History, III, 4, 13, 19; IV, 3; V, 9, 10, for accounts of other such voluntary exiles.

[9] "The Interpretation of The Seafarer," in The Early Cultures of North-West Europe, ed. Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 261 - 72; rpt. in Old English Literature, ed. M. Stevens and J. Mandel (Lincoln,

Nebr., 1968), pp. 198 - 211. P.L. Henry, *The Early English and Celtic Lyric* (London, 1966) echoes Whitelock's interpretation. See especially pp. 36 - 37. Both Whitelock (pp. 200 - 01; 205 - 11) and Henry (pp. 29 - 39) discuss the concept of *peregrinatio pro amore dei*.

[10] For the preceding I am indebted to Stanley Greenfield's essay, "The Formulaic Expression . . ." See note 5.

[11] See B.K. Martin, "Aspects of Winter in Latin and Old English Poetry," *JEGP*, 68 (1969), 379. See also the Finn episode in *Beowulf*, esp. ll. 1125 ff. Hengest's predicament is heightened by the fact that winter prevents him from leaving Finn's *tun*.

[12] Paul Beekman Taylor, "Themes of Death in *Beowulf*," in *Old English Poetry*, ed. Robert Creed (Providence, 1967), p. 250. See also Greenfield, "Formulaic Expression . . .," p. 359.

[13] Cf. *C&S* 172 - 74a.

[14] Satan's traditional alter-ego, the serpent, does not escape punishment. Like Adam and Eve, he is exiled:

> "Þu scealt wideferhð werig þinum
> breostum bearm tredan bradre eorðan,
> faran feðeleas, þenden þe feorh wunað,
> gast on innan." (*Gen*. 906 - 09a)

> "You must miserably tread the bosom of the broad earth on a long journey, on your breast, travel without feet, as long as life remains within you, a soul inside you."

Here diction of deprivation is applied to the serpent's lack of feet (908a). There is also an indication of his state of mind: *werig* 'miserable' (906b), and the idea of movement: *faran* 'travel' (908a), *tredan* 'tread' (907a).

[15] Bennett A. Brockman, "'Heroic' and 'Christian' in *Genesis A*: The Evidence of the Cain and Abel Episode," *MLQ*, 35 (1974), 124. Brockman has drawn attention to the differences between the biblical and Old English portrayals of Cain and has pointed out that the *Genesis*-poet seems very little interested in the allegorical/typological aspects of Cain and his slaying of Abel (cf. Augustine, *The City of God*, XV, 7 - 8), focussing instead on "Cain the honorless exile,

the social at least as much as the spiritual exile" (117), in keeping with his "primarily secular, social orientation to the entire account" (125).

[16] In his brief reference to Cain's slaying of Abel, the *Beowulf*-poet also makes use of exilic diction: *Ne gefeah he þære fæhðe, ac he hine feor forwræc* 'He [Cain] received no joy as a result of that feud, but he [God] exiled him far away' (*Bwf*. 109). It is because he is a descendent of Cain's that Grendel behaves in such a murderous fashion and accordingly, like his ancestor, is *forscrifen* 'proscribed, i.e. sentenced to exile' (*Bwf*. 106b).

[17] Note again the similarity of spelling and sound between *wrace* 'punishment, vengeance' and *wræce* 'exile,' which enables the former to reinforce the sense of the latter to a listener's ear or a reader's eye. Cf. *Gen*. 58b and 39b discussed above.

[18] Besides the passages discussed above, exilic diction is used in a similar way to describe Ham (*Gen*. 1595a), the people of Babel (*Gen*. 1692b - 93a, cf. *Dan*. 301a), the Elamites defeated and sent into retreat by Abraham (*Gen*. 2080b - 82a), the widows of the Sodomite warriors defeated by the Elamites (*Gen*. 2133a), and Hagar (*Gen*. 2264b - 79).

[19] The only suggestion of exile in the episode of Noah and the Flood is the use of *earfoðsið* 'miserable-journey' (*Gen*. 1476a) to describe his passage over the waters. The similarity of this word to *bealusiðe*, and inasmuch as he is a homeless seafarer after all, suggest that Noah, like the seafarer and the Israelites, is a *peregrinus*.

[20] This passage is reminiscent of *The Seafarer* 65b - 67 and 80b - 90. Compare also *The Seafarer*, 68 - 71, with *Exodus*, 538b - 40a.

[21] Edward B. Irving, Jr., ed. *The Old English Exodus* (Hamdon, Conn., 1970), p. 31.

[22] This figurative reading is supported by other elements of diction having to do with the journey of the Israelites.

The first of these is the word *lifweg* 'life-way' (*Ex*. 104b) which the pillars leading the Israelites across the desert measure out for them. Gollancz suggests that the

Exodus-poet in using this word might have in mind the Patristic notion that "the journey of the children of Israel from Egypt was some such allegory of 'the way of life'" (p. lxxxiii). As it is used in its only other occurrence in the corpus of Old English poetry (*Guthlac*, 768a) it clearly refers to metaphorical *liðe* 'sweet, gracious' lifeways *leohte geræhte* 'adorned with light' (768b) which it is hoped God will continue to make available to his devoted followers. Krapp (p. 202) and Blackburn (p. 40) take the word more literally as referring only to the path away from the pursuing Egyptians which will save the Israelites from death, but the poem's latest editor, Edward Irving, leans towards Gollancz, saying that it "is probable that this word contains a reference to some sort of allegory of spiritual progress" (p. 75).

If we agree with Krapp and Blackburn, the case is still complicated by the description of the path between the parted waters of the Red Sea as a *grenne grund* 'green ground' (312a). This is curious for two reasons. First, the poet has already referred to the path as being of sand (291a) which one would hardly expect to be green, and as a *haswe herestræta* 'grey army-street' (284a). Secondly, the *Christ and Satan*-poet refers to the path to Heaven which Christ will prepare for his loyal retainers as a *grene stræte* 'green street' (*C&S* 286b). The similarity of this phrase to that used to describe the path through the parted waters is striking. Note as well that in *Exodus* Moses separates the waters by striking them with a *grene tacen* 'green token' (281a), apparently a supernatural green rod, which is entirely absent in the biblical account (Ex. 14: 21). If we add to this the references to the greenness of Paradise (cf. *Gen*. 1137, and note 28 in Chapter IV), there seems to be some ground for speculating that the poet has allegorical intent in using such a phrase which appears otherwise contradictory and unrealistic. See Hugh T. Keenan, "*Exodus* 312: 'the Green Street of Paradise,'" *NM*, 71 (1970), 455 - 60; and "*Exodus* 312a: Further Notes on the Eschatological 'Green Ground,'" *NM*, 74 (1973), 217 - 19; and A.N. Doane, "'The Green Street of Paradise': A Note on Lexis and Meaning in Old English Poetry," *NM*, 74 (1973), 456 - 65.

[23] Shepherd, p. 30.

[24] The final 1235 lines of *Genesis* are concerned exclusively with his exploits (and to a much lesser degree with those of his kinsman Lot), as are the central 69 lines of *Exodus*. Additionally he is referred to in *Ex*. 18b and 273b, and *Daniel* 193b and 313a, to make the point that the Israelites are his descendents and their God, his God. In

Christ and Satan, 458 - 59, the halige witigan 'holy prophets' whom Christ releases from Hell and leads up to Heaven at the Harrowing are identified as Abrahames cynn 'Abraham's tribe' (459b).

Chapter VI: Conclusion

[1] Jean I. Young, "Two Notes . . .," p. 204, regards the Junius Manuscript as having been "built up on a consistent principle." For suggestions of thematic unity see Alvin Lee, pp. 16, 60, and Geoffrey Shepherd, p. 25. James R. Hall's unpublished dissertation, "The Old English Book of Salvation History" (Univeristy of Notre Dame, 1973), suggests that the poems of the Junius Manuscript constitute a complete salvation-history and is therefore unified in its overall conception. This is the only full-length study addressing itself to the question of unity in the Junius Manuscript of which I am aware.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

ASE:	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ELH:	*Journal of English Literary History*
ES:	*English Studies*
JEGP:	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
MLN:	*Modern Language Notes*
MLQ:	*Modern Language Quarterly*
MP:	*Modern Philology*
Neophil.:	*Neophilologus*
NM:	*Neophilologische Mitteilungen*
PLL:	*Papers on Language and Literature*
PMLA:	*Publications of the Modern Language Association*
PQ:	*Philological Quarterly*
RES:	*Review of English Studies*
SP:	*Studies in Philology*
n.s.:	new series

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